

# GREEK *and* BYZANTINE STUDIES

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VOLUME 1

OCTOBER 1958

NUMBER 2

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

*To the following people is owed an expression of thanks for their generous cooperation and assistance in this enterprise: Dr. Charles R. D. Miller, Editor, SPECULUM; Reverend Walter Franklin Smith, Harvard Memorial Church; Sally G. Swing, UNESCO; John A. Tzounis, Director, Information Service, Royal Greek Embassy, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Peter P. Sorokin, IBM Research, Poughkeepsie; Foster M. Palmer, Harvard College Library; Walter R. Ferris, Division of Engineering and Applied Physics, Harvard University; John D. Harris, San Antonio.*

PRINTED BY THE

EATON PRESS, WATERTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS

PLATES BY

MERIDEN GRAVURE COMPANY, MERIDEN, CONNECTICUT

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# Greek Numismatic Art 400 B.C. — 300 A.D.

Some General Remarks

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## INTRODUCTION

*If, then, the result of thus grouping together from an historical standpoint specimens of the chief monetary issues of all parts of the ancient world would prove to be also a commentary on the history of the growth, development, and decline of Greek art, it will be none the less valuable for being a thoroughly independent commentary.*

SO WROTE BARCLAY V. HEAD, as great an art historian as historian of numismatics, in the preface to the first edition of *Coins of the Ancients* in 1880. In his conclusions can be found the basis of studies in Greek numismatic art as a discipline in itself and as the groundwork for relating the aesthetics of numismatics to the development of Greek art in other media. The contents of Head's chronological grouping of Greek coins is often remembered only by the sets of British Museum electrotypes seen in museum and classroom corridors; this



grouping, however, remains in literary substance in the 1932 revision by Sir George Hill and E. S. G. Robinson, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*. This edition provides the forum for the remarks on Greek numismatic art made here, and the references are to the numbering of its plates. Portraiture is a special study, and as such is not emphasized here; reverses are stressed, as much from their total expression as from the deities or inscriptions advertised thereon. Much of this should suggest that the periods emphasized are not the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. but the age of the Greek internationalists, having its conventional beginning in Alexander III of Macedon and continuing (for these purposes) until Alexandria's Greek imperial mint was closed in the late third century A.D. For reasons of clarity and brevity we shall concentrate on the years 400-27 B.C.

### PERIOD III (400-336 B.C.)

#### THE GREEK WORLD BEFORE ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Head's Period III (400-336 B.C.) is not a brilliant one for Greek numismatic art. In Greek painting and sculpture this was a period of great activity, but the generation of Cephisodotus and Timotheus marked a mediocre lull before the rise of Praxiteles, Scopas and Lysippus. The dekadrachms of Euainetos and his following were produced probably as late as the first reign of Dionysius II (367-357 B.C.) (pl. 26, fig. 31); like so many other coins of Period III, their design belongs to Attic art of the late fifth century. Just as the styles of Agoracritus and Kallimachus, Pheidias' pupils, were perpetuated in an unimaginative way in sculptures at Epidauros, so the cities of Magna Graecia and Greece proper were using die designs developed for them by artists of the post-Pheidian era. Large heads of gods, heroes and nymphs, sometimes perpetuating the techniques of three-quarters or full face, dominate the obverses; the reverses also continue designs symbolic of regions and their produce: animals, horsemen, seated divinities, objects, and the like. The semi-barbarous silver of Lycceius of Paeonia (359-340 B.C.) (pl. 21, fig. 9) with a spirited

reverse of Herakles and the lion, and the coin of Zakynthos with Herakles and the snakes (pl. 23, fig. 44) are exceptions that catch the eye in their efforts to break out of their *tondo* compositions. The giant bronzes of Olbia, on the other hand, (pl. 21, fig. 3) have the faults of the period and achieve only vulgarity.

In Asia, however, artistic imagination followed the gold of the Satraps. This, we remember, was the region where Mausolus and Artemisia summoned the great artists of the Greek world to commissions culminating in one of the Wonders of the ancient world. Another architectural marvel of the area, the Ephesian Artemisium (the other Wonder beginning the century of the Rhodian Colossus and the Alexandrian Pharos), was rising anew at the same time. At first glance one does not differentiate between the earlier coins of Asia and Africa and those of Head's Period III. The Darics and sigloi, to be sure, have somewhat larger flans; coins of Lesbos and Lampsacus present seemingly more modern designs; but the small, thick, irregular flans, the quadripartite incuses, remain a disturbingly anachronistic feature of the earlier coins. Among these earlier coins, however, we find arresting advances. Leaving aside the naturalistic portraits of elderly men on electrum of Cyzicus (pl. 18, fig. 8, 9), the infant Herakles and snake obverse of c. 394 to 389 B.C., common to Cyzicus, Ephesus, Samos and other cities (pls. 18, fig. 15; 19, fig. 34, 37), presents a less original but perhaps more dynamic version of the subject than that of Zakynthos discussed in the previous paragraph. The silver of Aphrodisias in Cilicia c. 379-374 B.C. (pl. 19, fig. 48) has long been admired for an obverse showing "the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias, her right hand supported by olive-tree, holding Nike, left hand resting on shield" and "important as an early reproduction of the Parthenos of Pheidias". It is likely the immediate prototype was a fourth century modification of the Pheidian image (like the Pitcairn Nike in Philadelphia or the head of Zeus in Boston) or perhaps a painting, but the die designer had caught the monumentality of the Athena in the freedom of a frontal pose allowing precise definition of important secondary details. Aphrodite, smelling a flower and



enthroned between two Eastern sphinxes, is no less successful a transcription of a cult image to the format of a coin.

The coins of Mazaeus (or Mazaïos) ruler of Cilicia (361-333 B.C.), struck at Tarsus (pl. 20, fig. 51), with seated Zeus, lion devouring bull, and a walled city below (Fig. 1.); the issue at Paphos in Cyprus which projects a plastic miniature of Agoracritus' Aphrodite-Nemesis at Rhamnus beyond the plane of field and flan (pl. 20, fig. 55); and the avowedly Graeco-Oriental octodrachms of Strato of Sidon (368 B.C.) with Artaxerxes II Mnemon in a ceremonial quadriga (pl. 20, fig. 57) all stand out from the surfeit of beauty in divine heads and city emblema found in surveying the general run of coins of 400-336 B.C. When we meet new rarities in the coins of Western Asia Minor, in one case we find this imagination combined with reuse of a traditional reverse, all presented in a vaguely barbarous manner. The small series of silver staters of Perikles (Päriklä), last dynast of Lycia (c. 365 B.C.), use the late fifth century technique of the three-quarters facing head to present a wild-eyed Herakles (?) wearing a wreath and his lion's skin. He overwhelms the obverse. The reverse, however, is a disappointment; the striding warrior is all too well known, most recently as Ajax the Less on the coins of Locri Opuntii (pl. 22, fig. 29) (Fig. 2).

#### PERIOD IV (336-280 B.C.)

##### ALEXANDER, HIS GENERALS, AND THE GREEK WEST

While Head's Period III might be considered an aesthetic non-historical division, unless we think of Greek history from the death of Socrates to the death of Philip II of Macedon as a distinct phase, Head's Period IV (336-280 B.C.) bears close relationship to the upheavals which changed the complexion of Greek civilization. These are the years from the accession of Alexander the Great through the lifetimes of the first generation of Diadochoi, many the companions of his original exploits. Appropriately, illustration of the coinage of Asia after the conquests begins with a double Daric of the traditional type of the kneeling archer-king and incuse reverse





FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



FIGURE 3



FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5



FIGURE 6

FIG. 1. Tarsus, Cilicia. Mazaios (361-333 B.C.). Silver Stater. (54.39)  
 FIG. 2. Lycia, Antiphellos. Pärıklä (380-362 B.C.). Silver Stater. (58.12)  
 FIG. 3. Crete, Gortyna. (c. 350 B.C.). Silver Stater. (57.729) FIG. 4. Syria,  
 Seleucus I. (303-293 B.C.). Gold Distater, struck at Ecbatana. (56.100)  
 FIG. 5. Syria, Seleucus I. (294-280 B.C.). Gold Stater, struck at Tarsus.  
 (54.567) FIG. 6. Thrace and Asia Minor, Lysimachus. (c. 300 B.C.).  
 Silver Tetradrachm. (58.317)



FIGURE 7



FIGURE 8



FIGURE 9



FIGURE 10



FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12

FIG. 7. Macedonia, Demetrius Poliorcetes (c. 290 B.C.). Gold Stater. (53.2550) FIG. 8. Egypt, Ptolemy I (struck for Alexander IV, c. 310 B.C.). Silver Tetradrachm. (58.331) FIG. 9. Egypt, Ptolemy II, with bust of Arsinoe II (c. 270 B.C.). Gold Octadrachm, struck at Kition. (53.117) FIG. 10. Egypt, Ptolemy XIII (55-51 B.C.). Silver Drachm. (53.456) FIG. 11. Macedonia, Antigonus Gonatas (277-239 B.C.). Silver Tetradrachm. (58.332) FIG. 12. Aeolis, Aigai. (c. 150 B.C.). Silver Tetradrachm. (57.719)

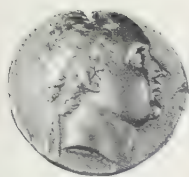


FIGURE 13



FIGURE 14



FIGURE 15



FIGURE 16



FIGURE 17



FIGURE 18



FIG. 13. Syria, Seleucus IV (187-175 B.C.). Silver Tetradrachm, struck at Sardis. (55.381) FIG. 14. Syria, Alexander II (128-123 B.C.). Silver Tetradrachm. (54.97) FIG. 15. Pontus, Mithradates VII (85-84 B.C.). Silver Tetradrachm. (54.37) FIG. 16. Bithynia, Nicomedes (149-120 B.C.), or later, to c. 82 B.C. Silver Tetradrachm. (54.671) FIG. 17. Ionia, Ephesus. (c. 225-133 B.C.). Silver Tetradrachm (Cistophorus). (54.1040) FIG. 18. Ephesus, Emperor Nero as Caesar (c. A.D. 51). Silver Cistophorus. (58.3)





FIGURE 19



FIGURE 20



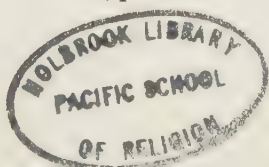
FIGURE 21

FIG. 19. Pergamon, Emperor Caracalla (A.D. 211-217). Bronze Medallion. (58.13) FIG. 20. Perinthos and Ephesus, Emperor Gordianus III (A.D. 238-244). Bronze Medallion. (57.720) FIG. 21. Steelyard Weight. Bust of Artemis. Late Hellenistic, from Asia Minor. (58.16)

(pl. 27 fig. 1). This coin shows Alexander's continuation of an expression of Persian tradition in his new realms. The so-called Porus medallion or dekadrachm, struck at Babylon, is one of the curiosities of the age (pl. 27, fig. 4); the obverse projects us suddenly into the realm of Hellenistic humanism, presenting an early though distorted version of Alexander's encounter with Porus and his army of elephants in the Panjab. A painting by one of the court artists no doubt inspired the die designer. We are on firmer grounds in this suggestion when we study the equally monumental reverse. Alexander stands in military regalia, holding the thunderbolt of Zeus; Nike flies from the left to crown his plumed helmet. Pliny describes just such a painting or paintings by the foremost artist of the period, Apelles.<sup>1</sup> The exotic beasts of the Macedonian kingdoms are quick to appear on other coins of the early third century: Seleucus I shows both the elephant alone (pl. 27, fig. 8) and Athena in an elephant quadriga (pl. 27, fig. 10), and the Indian zebu or humped bull (pl. 27, fig. 13). Counting in the amusing contributions of Cretan numismatics in this period (Fig. 3), the zoological propensities of Greek coins are well exploited in Period IV.

The coins in Head's Period IV fall into two divisions: those coins with subjects related to Alexander the Great and his successors, and those coin types preserving the artistic autonomy traditional in the Greek series. These divisions, one would assume, cover Alexander's empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa on one hand, and those areas, particularly Italy and Sicily, he never succeeded in conquering. There are, however, exceptions. Cyzicus, Ephesus and Cnidus continue their own types for some time in this period. Crete behaves as if nothing had happened, continuing the types of Zeus, Europa, Poseidon and the bulls on her well designed, sometimes crudely struck large silver coins. Carthage, on the other hand, voluntarily adopts the Herakles-Alexander head to her obverses, no doubt for commercial gain (pl. 31, fig. 19). Alexander's series in gold, with head of Athena on the obverse and Nike standing on the reverse, is a coin type of the fourth

<sup>1</sup> See *Gnomon*, 25 (1953), 475.



century B.C., and as such it did not have the endurance of his issues in silver (pl. 29, fig. 4, 8.). It took the three-hundred year interval to the revived classicism of the late Roman Republic to reuse this standing Nike, on denarii of Mark Anthony and related coins.<sup>2</sup> In the early third century B.C. the design passed away with such curiosities as the rare distater or double Daric of Seleucus I, struck at Ecbatana c. 303-293 B.C. (Fig. 4), or the staters of the same king, struck c. 294-280 B.C. at Tarsus in Cilicia (Fig. 5).

Like sculpture and painting in the age of Alexander and the Successors, the design of tetradrachms and drachms, Herakles-Alexander obverse and enthroned eagle-bearing Zeus reverse, provided the new age with a vehicle for artistic expression. Alexander's die designers did not begin to exploit the possibilities of these new compositions (pl. 29, fig. 5-11). The empire of Alexander needed a coin type with an obverse bordering on portraiture and with a reverse honoring a major divinity, and including local mintmarks as well as the royal titles. Although Lysimachus (pl. 27, fig. 16) and Ptolemy I (pl. 28, fig. 20) could abandon the Alexander types in favor of their own inscriptions (Fig. 6), and in the second case portrait, they and their descendants (e.g. Demetrius Poliorcetes, pl. 29, fig. 10) (cf. Fig 7) found the basic arrangement of divine portrait on the obverse and major divinity on the reverse one suited to the needs of mass coinage over large areas. In addition, Ptolemy increased the concentration on the ruler's person by reducing the reverse design to the symbol of the divinity (Zeus' eagle) rather than the divinity himself (Fig. 8).

The general arrangement of obverse and reverse instituted by Alexander the Great continued to the end of the Hellenistic Kingdoms and passed over into the basic design of Roman imperial coinage. Alexander's artists employed a forceful treatment of obverse and reverse, but the idea found its most vigorous expression in the dramatic portraits and baroque reverses of Asian tetradrachms in Period V (280-190 B.C.), probably under the influence of Pergamene art. In

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Trau Sale, Hess (May 22, 1935), No. 52.



Egypt, save for the major gold and silver of the first three Ptolemies (Fig. 9), design gave way to production technique; coins appear to have been produced by forced casting rather than striking, and only some changes in portraiture relieve the monotony of eagle and inscription on the reverses (Fig. 10). In all, history no doubt gained in the portrait tetradrachms of the Hellenistic period, but Greek numismatic art can be easily said to have lost a measure of its attraction.

The coins of Period IV in the west, aside from the occasionally exciting horses' heads of Carthage (pl. 31, fig. 21), are disappointing. Neapolis, Tarentum, Metapontum, Thurium, Croton, and Syracuse, among others (pl. 31, fig. 1-16), produce watered-down versions of types with echoes back into the fifth century. The interaction of designs in east and west is seen by comparing contemporary reverses of Seleucus I (pl. 27, fig. 11) and Agathocles of Syracuse (pl. 31, fig. 14), showing Nike setting up a trophy. A large intaglio gem in the British Museum, in chalcedony and signed by the engraver Onatas, is a contemporary example of work which could have passed from one court to another and inspired both the coin types.<sup>3</sup> The chariot groups on reverses of Syracuse (pl. 31, fig. 12, 16) follow the models of Kimon and Euainetos, but the treatment of what was an inspiring model is even duller than in the reverses of Period III. We encounter distorted horses, partially unquadrated gallops, and distracting emphasis of groundline and inscription beneath. If one were to pick the most successful of the coins of this period in Southern Italy, it might be the silver of Locri with head of Zeus on the obverse and Akragas' old motif of an eagle devouring a hare on the reverse (pl. 31, fig. 10). The design is simple, delicate, gem-like, and unencumbered by epigraphy. When we look at the coins of the west in the time of Alexander and the Successors, we may say that it is perhaps well political events demanded a new artistic idiom. We may turn back, then, to the Hellenistic east in the period of the consolidation of the kingdoms and the rise of Pergamum to see what manner of

<sup>3</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Pl. XIII, 37; H. B. Walters, *British Museum Catalogue*, No. 601.

success the Diadochoi made of the combination of their portraits with a reverse proclaiming the individuality of the various kingdoms.

### PERIOD V (280-190 B.C.)

#### THE HELLENISTIC BAROQUE AND ITS ROCOCO COUNTERPART

In turning to Plates 32-34 of *Principal Coins*, Head's Period V in Asia and Africa (280-190 B.C.), we see the successful infusion of baroque force into the wide range of portraits and of Hellenistic sculptural virtuosity into the reverses. The gods and goddesses on the reverses are more statuesque than ever, taking their models from the latest creations of the followers of the great fourth-century triad, Praxiteles, Skopas and Lysippus. While Mithradates of Pontus (c. 220-185 B.C.) (pl. 32, fig. 1) and the city of Miletus (pl. 32, fig. 5) continue the seated Zeus of Alexander's tetradrachms and drachms, a figure based on fourth-century versions of Pheidias' gold and ivory statue in the temple at Olympia, Prusias I of Bithynia (c. 238-183) uses the standing Zeus created earlier in the third century by the local master Doedalsas, famed for his crouching Aphrodite (pl. 32, fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> Coins of Pergamum under Philetærus (284-263 B.C.) and Eumenes I (263-241 B.C.) show a seated Athena that must reflect the statue in her temple in that city (pl. 32, fig. 3, 4). Antiochus I and II also use new statues in their capital and in the shrine at nearby Daphne on their reverses: Apollo on the omphalos (pl. 32, fig. 6, 7), and a seated Herakles which echoes the colossus created by Lysippus for the city of Tarentum (pl. 32, fig. 8). Seleucus II (246-226 B.C.) uses a standing Apollo, holding an arrow and leaning languidly on a large tripod (pl. 32, fig. 10); the statue is just what one would expect from the workshops of the sons or followers of Praxiteles at the end of the fourth century B.C. All three coin types were copied by later Seleucids and by kings in Bactria and India.

When we turn to Bactria and its rich series of tetradrachms in the later third and second centuries B.C., we find

<sup>4</sup> L. Laurenzi, *Annuario*, 24-26 (1946-48), 167-179.

the same desire to match striking portraits with the latest sculptural creations of the early Hellenistic period. Herakles crowning himself on coins of Demetrius and his successors (pl. 33, fig. 17) has been identified as a statue by Praxiteles or his school; the original may have stood in Corinth and may have been familiar to Bactrian die designers through sculptors' models, such as the plaques found at Begram in Afghanistan.<sup>5</sup> On coins of Antimachus (pl. 33, fig. 20), we encounter a Poseidon standing in hipshot, baroque pose and holding a large trident and a palm; we are on the firmest ground in connecting this reverse with contemporary statuary, for this is no other than the over lifesize marble Poseidon discovered in a sanctuary on the island of Melos and now in the Athens National Museum.<sup>6</sup> The die designers of this series were capable of adaptations of striking originality; the Zeus, seen from the back, hurling a thunderbolt on coins of Diodotus and Agathocles is a good example (pl. 33, fig. 15, 18). The Bactrian designers somehow also organized the lettering on their reverses better than did the Seleucids or the Ptolemies; the titles enframe the figures and seem to suit their statuesque verticality. The Parthians observed this little detail and made much of it for the many years of their coinage, turning the lettering into a foursquare enframement for the reverse figures.

We have spoken of the high point reached by the Ptolemaic series during the earlier part of Period V and of its degeneration into dullness. The large gold, silver, and bronze coins are handsome examples of what can be done with portraiture on coins, and in a large gold piece of Ptolemy II (pl. 33, fig. 21) the importance of the portrait is recognized to the extent that the whole coin is given over to the likeness of the first two rulers and their consorts, mother and father on one side and son and daughter (husband and wife) on the other. Turning from Africa to Greece, amid continuations of traditional types among certain city-states, we find the baroque

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 77 (1957), 283–299.

<sup>6</sup> M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), 160f., Fig. 684.



styles of Western Asia Minor have not passed unnoticed closer to the heartland. The kings of Macedonia produce several amazing coins. Those of Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 B.C.) (Fig. 11) and Philip V (220-178 B.C.), with heads of Pan and Perseus-Philip in the centre of a Macedonian shield on the obverses and an archaistic Athena or a wreathed club on the reverses, show something of the explosive quality a coin design could achieve when design (the Macedonian shield) is not limited by the confines of coin flan (pl. 35, fig. 3, 5). We take this type of art for granted in the modern medal, but it is unusual even among the innovations of Head's Period V. The fighting Athena, a popular reverse in this series, has been identified with the Athena Alkidemos of Pella.<sup>7</sup> In the tetradrachm attributed to Antigonos Gonatas or Doson (229-220 B.C.) (pl. 35, fig. 4), we encounter a different style, one which looks ahead to the revived classicism of Period VI (190-100 B.C.), the last vital period of Greek as opposed to Greek imperial or Roman numismatic art. The obverse shows a full-bearded Poseidon who had traded the baroque force of earlier coins for a rococo softness, the "effeminate character" of which was noticed by Head; the reverse carries this process further, showing a decidedly un-Herculean Apollo reclining prettily on the inscribed prow of a galley.

Among the other coins of mainland Greece in Period V, we may single out for comment the issues of the Aetolian League struck during the period 279-168 B.C. (pl. 36, fig. 12-15). The silver with the head of the hero Aetolus on one side and his statue on the reverse is an interesting and successful attempt to turn the personal types of Hellenistic rulers back into the impersonal designs of a city-state. Obverse and reverse are influenced by coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Period IV (e.g. pl. 29, fig. 10), but when we see Aetolus where normally we would have a king under the guise of a divinity, we discover how a city-state could pay a delicate compliment to the Macedonian royal house without compromising the freedom of the coin design. The same idea of influence and respect for the Alexander tradition, without loss of individual

<sup>7</sup> A. B. Brett, *A. N. S. Museum Notes*, 4 (1950), 55-72.

designs, determined the obverses and reverses of the gold staters (pl. 36, fig. 13) and silver tetradrachms (pl. 36, fig. 14) of Aetolia. The obverses copy the Athena and the Herakles of comparable coins of Alexander the Great, with a deepening of design in keeping with the passage of a century, but the reverses show Aetolia seated on Macedonian and Gaulish shields, holding either a Victoriola on the outstretched left hand or a parazonium on the left knee. The Amazon-like figure became one of the prototypes for Roma on coins of the Republic and early Empire; if we believe what some have read into the Boscoreale frescos in the Metropolitan Museum, where one figure has been identified as Macedonia in similar attitude, we may credit the major and minor arts of this phase of Hellenistic culture in northern Greece with developing classical taste for geographical personifications.<sup>8</sup> The Aetolians were as capable of charm as they were of historical pretension; this appears in the very Hellenistic head of Artemis, with bow and quiver at her shoulder, on the drachms of this series (pl. 36, 15).

Turning from Greece to Southern Italy and Sicily in Period V, it is hard to pass over the so-called new style tetradrachms of Athens without some word about their art, or lack of it (pl. 36, fig. 16, 17). The coins not only make the traditional Athenian numismatic concessions to commercial expediency, the Athena head combined with the owl and olive branch, but this series uses the remaining space of the reverse in a concession to Hellenistic penchant for chronology, as Head sums it up (p. 64): "the most complete indication for controlling the issue that is to be found in the history of coinage". The letters, dates, and symbols crowding the reverses may be worthy successors of earlier Athenian historical documents, but they remove these coins from any important place in the aesthetics of Greek numismatics. The head of Athena on the obverse is a modernized version of the Pheidian Parthenos, losing the dignity and restraint of the original; we have only to compare these heads with the Zeus at Olympia on coins of Elis under Hadrian to see what the new style

<sup>8</sup> See C. M. Robertson, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 45 (1955), 58-67.

tetradrachms lose in not reproducing the Pheidian statue more faithfully.<sup>9</sup>

In the west, Head's geographical arrangement within each period leads us first to the silver struck in Spain by the Barcids between the first and second Punic wars (pl. 37, fig. 1, 2). The large, bold heads of Herakles-Melqarth on the obverses are related, naturally, to the breadth of concept which one finds in contemporary Carthaginian dies (pl. 38, fig. 28-31). The reverses with their African elephants of various proportions are just as refreshing; no lettering distracts appreciation of the designs. For Herakles, one feels that the die designers used the impression of a deep, boldly cut intaglio gem; the club set on the right shoulder and consequently behind the profiled bust is just the technique used by a Hellenistic gem engraver to fill the concave background of his design. In between these coins struck in Spain and the Carthaginian issues at the end of the first Punic war, we have the Italian and Sicilian coinages, including those of the third-century kings of Syracuse (pls. 37, 38).

Italy and Sicily in the fifth century B.C. pioneered with new styles and new designs in their coinage. There is evidence in the third century B.C. that this initiative, in style at least, was not lost in numismatic art. We have spoken of the reflection of baroque styles in the dies of Asia, Africa and Greece in this century. These styles are related to that dynamic artistic synthesis which finds its greatest surviving expression in the statues, reliefs and paintings produced by artists from all over the Greek world in the service of the Attalids of Pergamum. When Pergamene art was thoroughly documented at the end of the last century, archaeologists, notably Wilhelm Klein, turned to the problem of a rococo reaction in Greek art, in the period c. 175-75 B.C.<sup>10</sup> An attempt was made, rightly or wrongly, to explain Greek art in terms of progress in Western Europe from 1650 to 1800. The school of Pergamum was Bernini's baroque; the antique rococo was a reaction corresponding to French art under

<sup>9</sup> J. Liegle, *Der Zeus des Phidias* (Berlin, 1952).

<sup>10</sup> *Vom antiken Rokoko* (Vienna, 1921).

Louis XV; and the classicism of the first century B.C. was likened to the impact of Pompeii and Winckelmann on Italy, France and England. A steelyard weight from Asia Minor, recently acquired by the Boston Museum, illustrates the similarity of a work of c. 100 B.C. to products of the French eighteenth century (Fig. 21); the bust of Artemis is light and delicate, a counterpart to the likenesses of Louis XV's mistresses in hunting costume or to the small sculptures by Clodion, Falconet and Pigalle.

Aestheticians of the present generation have delighted in shooting holes in the thesis of parallel development for the arts of antiquity and the post-Renaissance, but there remains a core of undeniable evidence.<sup>11</sup> There was a rococo reaction to the Pergamene baroque, and traces of this reaction are evident in the numismatic art of Italy and Sicily in the third century B.C. This is nearly a century before we expect such things in any number in the major arts. The elements of new styles are latent in any earlier phase of a national art, and perhaps die designers among the Western Greeks became aware of new developments before other artists felt the urge to discover and exploit them.

Let us return to the coins themselves. A didrachm of Cales in Campania, colonized from Rome after 334 B.C., is typical of what we encounter as we move southwards to the toe of Italy and across to Sicily (pl. 37, fig. 4). The design is a traditional one in the region: head of Athena in a crested Corinthian helmet on the obverse, and Nike driving a biga on the reverse. But the style is very different from that described for Period V in Macedonia and central Greece. The lines are thin and fussy; Athena's hair ripples out in delicate, scroll-like curls; and the horses of the biga rear back in elongated proportions bordering on mannerism. Coins of Suessa (pl. 37, fig. 5), Nuceria Alfaterna (pl. 37, fig. 6), Tarentum (pl. 37, fig. 7, 8), Heraklea in Lucania (pl. 37, fig. 9), and Velia (pl. 37, fig. 10) present the same stylistic characteristics applied to their traditional types. Sometimes the choice of types is exactly what Klein found as typical of the Greek

<sup>11</sup> M. Bieber, *op. cit.*, 136ff.



rococo in monumental art; a small gold coin of Bruttii in the second half of the third century B.C. illustrates this (pl. 37, fig. 11). The head of Poseidon is as unkempt in a delicate way as any fountain figure from an eighteenth century French park; the little trident is almost lost behind the strands of his fillet. Amphitrite is seated on a hippocamp on the reverse, holding an Eros with a bow on her outstretched hand. Parallels abound for treatment in these terms of the essentially dignified fourth-century group of the marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite, a work of the emotional master Skopas; the Nereid and Triton Group in the Vatican, or the Triton and Papposilenos in the Louvre are the sculptural counterparts of the coin of Bruttii.<sup>12</sup>

Two series of coins conclude our observations on the numismatic rococo in Southern Italy and Sicily in Period V (280-190 B.C.). Pyrrhus, king of Epirus (295-272 B.C.), spent the years 280 to 274 B.C. campaigning in Italy and Sicily, where his gold and silver coins were struck. All show characteristics of the rococo to a marked degree. The reverse type for his gold coinage consists of a Nike who trips along in rustling drapery, carrying a trophy on her left shoulder and a large oak-wreath in her extended right hand (pl. 37, fig. 15, 16). The curve of the wings and the smallness of the lettering contribute to the lightness and delicacy of the composition. The heads of Athena and Artemis on the obverse exhibit the same qualities, especially the former which is an even more delicate mirror reversal of the Athena on silver of Campanian Cales. Pyrrhus' silver contributes further rococo interpretations of old and new types. Persephone is combined with Athena Alkis (pl. 37, fig. 18). The oak-wreathed Dodonean Zeus and a cult image of Dione, seated in casual fashion on an ornamented throne, share the tetradrachm (pl. 37, fig. 17); the huge head of Zeus is a study in oak-leaves and curls multiplied in profusion, as if to prove that the scope of a coin flan did not limit the die cutters' capacities for detail. The didrachm is the masterpiece of the series (pl. 37, fig. 19). A young helmeted Achilles, in whose features one could read those of Pyrrhus (another voyager from Epirus), has as com-

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, Figs. 640f.

plementary reverse another Nereid and hippocamp motif, this time the topical scene of Achilles' mother Thetis carrying the shield forged by Hephaestus. Again minute handling of surface detail determines success of the designs in terms of the rococo style described previously.

The last coins of Syracuse before the capture of the city by the Romans under M. Marcellus in 212 B.C. are chiefly those of the long reign of Hiero II (275-216 B.C.). The large silver piece of 32 litrae combines the royal portrait with a reverse of Nike driving a quadriga (pl. 38, fig. 21), and the 16 litrae matches a reverse showing a more stately, pacing quadriga with a veiled head of Queen Philistis (pl. 38, fig. 22). The coins of the ill-fated King Hieronymous (216-215 B.C.) (pl. 38, fig. 23), and those of the republican government which followed his assassination (pl. 38, fig. 24, 25), complete the series with traditional types, the very last coin being an echo of the fifth-century dekadrachms of Kimon and Euainetos. Both the royal portraits and the variations of the quadriga reverse manifest characteristics of the rococo described in the previous paragraphs. Hiero's hair is treated in a profusion of crisp curls; the portrait of Philistis is executed in a flat style, combining low relief and incised lines for the veil; and the horses of the quadrigae dance where their fifth-century counterparts galloped majestically. The end of the coinage of Syracuse coincides generally with the extinction of the Western Greek series by the Romans, and when we return to Asia and Egypt to consider the coins of Head's Period VI (190-100 B.C.), it is with the knowledge that Roman conquest in this period was ever diminishing the geographic scope of Greek coinage in these areas and on the Greek mainland as well.

#### PERIOD VI (190-100 B.C.)

##### LATER HELLENISTIC CLASSICISM

In surveying the Western Greek coinages of Period V, we suggested that the important point about numismatic application of the rococo phase in Hellenistic art is the appearance of this style a century before it has been generally postulated in painting and monumental sculpture. The same may

be said of the style which dominates the Asian and Greek mainland coins of Period VI. This new style is anywhere from fifty to a hundred years in advance of its development in other media. As one might suspect from what was said previously, we encounter a strong revival of classicism, in terms of the Greek fifth and fourth century meaning of the word. A comparable return to the values of Greek, especially Athenian, art before the Pergamene and rococo phases occurred in painting and sculpture about 100 B.C., when Roman patrons were importing Greek works of art and Greek artists to inspire works suited to Roman taste. We have men such as the Athenian Apollonius the son of Nestor, the craftsmen of the so-called Neo-Attic school of decorative art, and the avowed eclectics such as Pasiteles and his followers. How, then, does this classicism manifest itself in the relatively constricted limits of a coin flan?

When one turns to Head's Plate 39, coins of the regions from Smyrna to Cyzicus and back to Cyme and Myrina, one is conscious of a change in the size, organization and handling of cutting from the flans and dies of Period V (Fig. 12). Heads of divinities are large and severe and exhibit tendencies to reflect fifth and early fourth century types; gods and goddesses on the reverses are more often the images of the high classical century rather than the up-to-date statues of the early Hellenistic period encountered in the comparable coins of Period V. The most striking novelty of these coins of Period VI is the marked increase in the size of flans and in the amount of area given over to empty surfaces (Fig. 13, 14). When we compare an Alexander-type tetradrachm struck at Smyrna after the defeat of Antiochus III in 189 B.C. with its fourth-century prototype, the classicism of Period VI explains itself most readily (pl. 39, fig. 1). The coin of Smyrna exhibits a characteristic representational technique of this new classicism in its reverse; the border of dots is omitted, and the design stands out in uncluttered contrast with the plain background, like the timelessness of the Parthenon frieze. When one sees obverse and reverse both without restraining borders, as on the Pontic tetradrachm of Pharnaces I (c. 189-169 B.C.) (pl. 39, fig. 2), this effect has been exploited to the fullest. The features

of Pharnaces, uncle to Mithradates the Great, are those of a non-Greek. The period abounds in rulers, Parthians and the like, in whom the blood of the Macedonian conquerors runs most thinly, if at all; late Hellenistic classicism seems to have no trouble in handling non-Greek portraits with Greek reverses. Only the artistic deterioration in the peripheral regions in Period VII (c. 100-1 B.C.) spoils the success of the final phases of a numismatic idiom first expressed in the universal coinages of Alexander the Great.

Aside from the coins of Perseus, last Greek king of Macedonia (179-168 B.C.), which present a remarkable portrait in classical terms (pl. 42, fig. 7), the coins of mainland Greece have little to command our artistic attention. What other large coins that survive (pls. 42, 43) are semi-barbaric curiosities, not polished examples of the die cutters' art; such is the case of the Dionysos and Herakles tetradrachms of Thasos, a series started after 146 B.C. when silver coinage ceases in Macedonia. These Thasian coins were much copied by the Balkan tribes at whose hands they deteriorate into lumps of metal (pl. 42, fig. 6). The ancient city of Cnossus on Crete produced two wild and wonderful tetradrachms in the second century B.C., classicistic versions of the tendency toward imaginative types which we have seen characterize the Cretan series throughout. The first (pl. 43, fig. 19) places a regal Minos, diademed and with the features of a Macedonian king, on the obverse and a complex, *square* labyrinth on the reverse; the second (pl. 43, fig. 20) combines a large, soft-faced head of Apollo or Ariadne with a *circular* labyrinth as reverse type. Other contemporary Cretan coins imitate Athenian new-style tetradrachms (pl. 43, fig. 21, 24); the first of these, struck at Cnossus, even squeezes the labyrinth in between the owl and the olive wreath on the reverse.

### PERIOD VII (100-1 B.C.)

#### THE LAST HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS

The classicistic style of Period VI carries on into Period VII (100-1 B.C.) (pls. 44, 45, and 46) and so does the number of barbaric versions of older types, especially the coins of



Philip and Alexander. The proportionate increase in the Parthian series lends an exotic note, as the traditional Hellenistic tetradrachms disappear. The two monumental tetradrachms of the period, both coined in the first quarter of the first century B.C., are those of Mithradates the Great (120-63 B.C.) (pl. 44, fig. 2) (Fig. 15) and Nicomedes of Bithynia (92-74 B.C.) (pl. 44, fig. 3) (cf. Fig. 16). The portrait of the former has been commented upon frequently; the large features, the massive head with its wind-blown locks make it a worthy terminus to the series of Hellenistic royal portraits on coins. Nicomedes, too, is an arresting, if much more human, portrait. Certainly these coins are a thousandfold more exciting than the cistophori of Roman Asia (pl. 44, fig. 4), or their earlier counterparts (pl. 39, fig. 5) (Fig. 17). Of the cistophori of Mark Anthony and of Augustus (pl. 44, fig. 5-8), the coin of the latter with sphinx seated on the reverse (pl. 44, fig. 8) makes the transition from Greek to Greek imperial coinage with a measure of artistic success. The large head of Augustus is set in a circle of tiny dots, and on the reverse, the details of the sphinx and corresponding border are handled with a delicacy that becomes almost more mannered than classical.

### THE GREEK IMPERIAL PERIOD (27 B.C.-A.D. 300)

#### SOME NEW APPROACHES TO NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF IMPORTANT MATERIAL

It remains for us to say something of the numismatic art of Head's Period VIII (pls. 47-50), the Greek imperial series from the middle of the reign of Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14) to the closing of the tetradrachm workshops in Alexandria at the end of the third century A.D. Scholars have spoken widely in recent years of the neglect of the Greek imperial series. The coins are indeed in need of a comprehensive study, excluding perhaps those of Roman Egypt. One important use to which Greek imperial coins have been subjected bears directly on their artistic value and thus on one of the very reasons they existed. They have been exploited, Pausanias fashion, for

what they show of buildings, statues, paintings, and other works of art which survived from the great ages of Greek civilization into Roman times. The cities which were allowed to coin, usually in the lesser metals, under the Romans could only advertise their past glories or show well-known versions of the myths identified with their regions. As a result both in antiquity and in our times Greek imperial medallions and coins have demanded a curatorial more than an aesthetic approach.

But the success of this series in presenting aspects of the history of Greek art and religion suggests some approach to problems of representation. It is of this approach that we may speak in our remaining paragraph. One begins by discounting the obverses of these coins since generally they have been only the portrait and titles of the reigning emperor; the obverses are little more than translations of what we find in more competent form in the Roman imperial series. It is, unfortunately, natural to expect that the best die designers flocked to the mint of Rome and its subsidiaries, where pay was no doubt higher than in the provinces. An exception in this rule of quality can be made for the imperial cistophori, where one frequently finds masterpieces (Fig. 18). Of the reverses, it is particularly in the large, medallic coins that one finds the most artistry. These pieces belong almost exclusively to Roman Asia, and their great period corresponds to that of Roman imperial medallions—the years from Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161) through Alexander Severus (222-235). Pergamum and Ephesus produce fine examples (Figs. 19, 20). The ingenuity with which die designers fit a view of a temple complex and its cult statue or a Hellenistic painting of the triumph of Dionysos (pl. 48, fig. 21) within the limits of a small irregular flan often reaches a level of medallic art not found again until the Italian sixteenth century. Certain cycles, such as the Labors of Herakles, may be compared on the coins of a number of cities. But soon we begin to speculate about reflections of lost sculpture and painting, and the coins return to their position as documents of antiquarianism rather than art.

## CONCLUSION

Looking back over Head's division of Greek coinage into eight periods, his arrangement seems a sound one in terms of numismatic art. Period VIII could be split in three parts: c. A.D. 1-117 (Augustus through Trajan); c. 118-235 (Antoninus Pius through Alexander Severus, the age of medallic productivity); and c. 235-300 (Maximinus through Diocletian and his colleagues). The new Period VIII is the age in which Greek imperial coinage struggled unsuccessfully to express itself in terms of Greek coin types under Roman organization and uniformity. Period IX is the age of archaeological and literary numismatics, discussed in the previous paragraph. Period X still contributed much, areas such as Palestine producing their most fruitful coinage, but in these years economic re-organization and barbarian pressures closed one mint after another in the Greek provinces. In the twenty-five years after Shapur's sack of Antioch (A.D. 260), new styles from the East begin to take over Roman imperial coinage, and it cannot be said to be unfortunate that Greek numismatics had to await the Byzantine Empire for a final great period of artistic expression.

## NOTE

The literature on Greek numismatic art has been collected in the writer's *A Bibliography of Applied Numismatics in the Fields of Greek and Roman Archaeology and the Fine Arts* (London, 1956) Part I. Archaeology and Art History, A. Greek and Greek Imperial Subjects and Coin Types, B. Greek Statuary Reconstructed from Coins. Part II. Iconography, Studies in Portraiture and Individuality in Antiquity in which Numismatic Material and Particularly Illustrations Appear. A. Greek, Hellenistic, and General. Part III. Geography, Topography and Architecture.

The most important general works are: H. A. Cahn, "Analyse et interprétation du style," *Congrès International de Numismatique* Paris 6-11 July 1953, II Actes 1957, 37-42; P. Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins. An Archaeological Essay* (Cambridge, 1883); G. F. Hill, *L'Art dans les monnaies grecques* (Paris-Brussels, 1927); L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques* (Liege, 1949); J. Liegle, *Euainetos*, 101 Winckelmannspr. (Berlin, 1941); J. G. Milne, "The History of the Greek Medallion," *Studies to D. M. Robinson*, 2, pp. 224-232; K. Regling, *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* (Berlin,

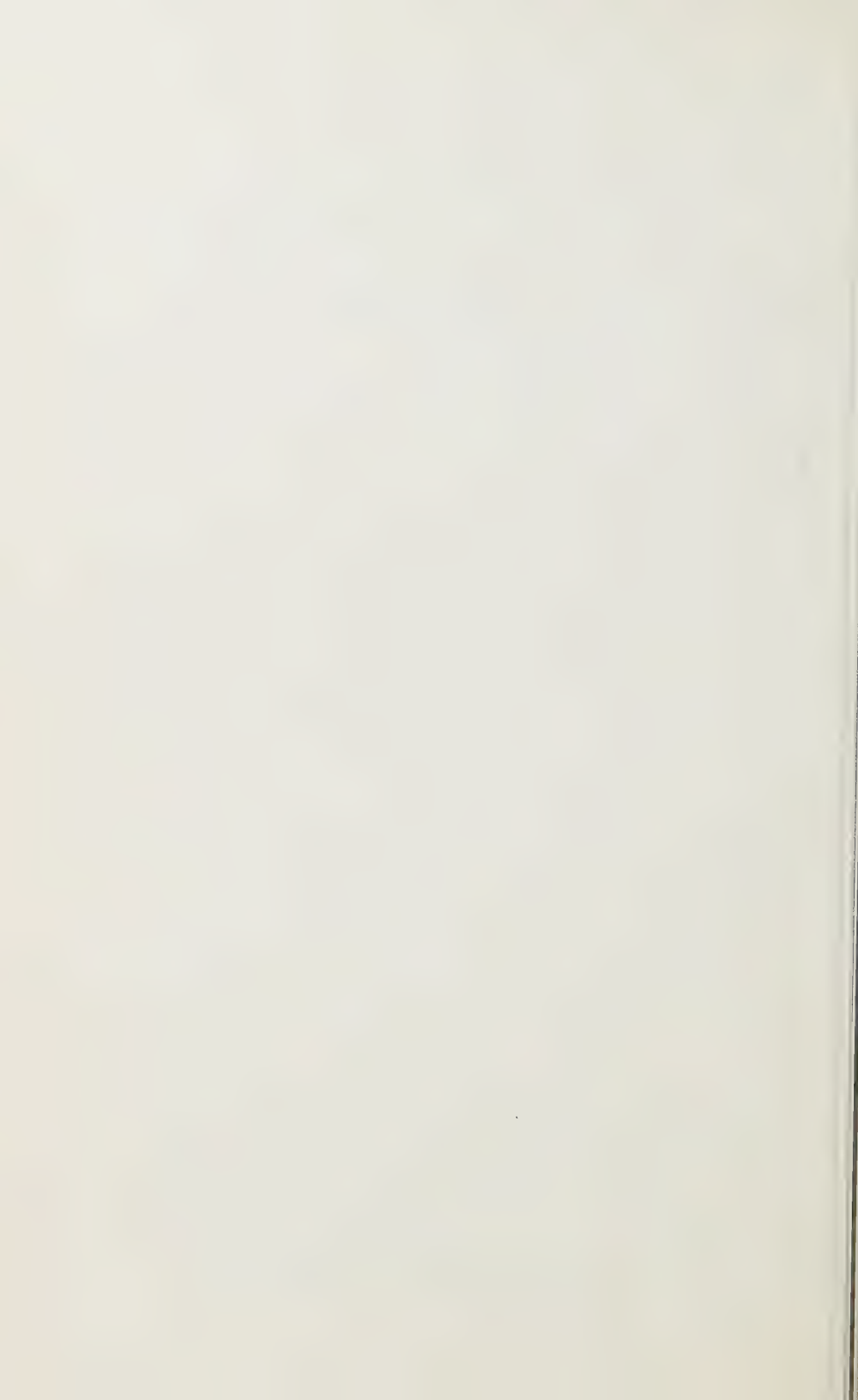
1924); G. E. Rizzo, *Monete greche della Sicilia* (Rome, 1946); C. T. Seltman, *Masterpieces of Greek Coinage* (Oxford, 1949); C. H. V. Sutherland, *Art in Coinage. The Aesthetics of Money from Greece to the Present Day* (London, 1955); and, by the same author, "What is Meant by 'Style' in Coinage?," *A. N. S. Museum Notes*, 4 (1950), 1-12.

The best work on portraiture on coins is J. Babelon, *Le portrait dans l'antiquité d'après les monnaies*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1950); also F. W. Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen hellenischer und hellenisierter Völker* (Leipzig, 1885), and K. Lange, *Herrscherköpfe des Altertums in Münzbild ihrer Zeit* (Berlin-Zurich, 1938). For the problems of architecture on ancient coins, T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica or Architectural Medals of Classical Antiquity* (London, 1859) is still the only general monograph; Mrs. Bluma Trell's *Architectura Numismatica* — II: *Temples in Asia Minor* (Ph.D. Diss. New York University, 1942) and *The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos*, *A.N.S. Num. Notes and Monographs* (New York, 1945), are pioneer studies in terms of twentieth century knowledge.

The coins illustrated here are all acquisitions of the Department of Classical Art, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, made since completion of the late Honorary Curator's catalogue of the Greek coins in the collection (A. B. Brett, *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* [Boston, 1955]). Figs. 1-7, 9, 10, 12-15, 17-20 were purchased from Theodora Wilbour Fund No. 1, in memory of Zoe Wilbour; 8, 11 were an Anonymous Gift in memory of Prof. D. M. Robinson; 16 was a gift of Mrs. Edward J. Holmes; and 21 was purchased from William E. Nickerson Fund No. 2.

Photographs are by Edward J. Moore, Museum Photographer; the coins and the steelyard bust of Artemis are shown as slightly less than actual size.





# Coptic Culture in The Byzantine World: Nationalism and Religious Independence

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Coptic culture, especially as it is known to most of us, through its art and its surviving literature, seems so remote, and so limited in its significance for the present time, that to many modern students it does not appear to have a very real place in either the history of Christianity or the history of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>1</sup> The Coptic language is not widely

<sup>1</sup>In the preparation of a general study such as this I have necessarily made use of the work of others, and I am indebted to the researches of a number of scholars, though I believe that the point of view adopted in this paper, and the conclusions, are my own. The best guide to the subject is the study of E. R. Hardy, *Christian Egypt: Church and People: Christianity and Nationalism in the Patriarchate of Alexandria* (New York, 1952), and I am greatly indebted to this book. Other valuable works are H. I. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Liverpool, 1953), W. H. Worrell, *A Short Account of the Copts* (Ann Arbor, 1945), and *Coptic Egypt*, containing the papers read at a symposium under the auspices of New York University and the Brooklyn Museum held at the Brooklyn Museum in 1941 and published by the Museum in 1944. With books such as these available, it has not seemed necessary to give full bibliographic references for all the statements made in the present study, especially when so many of them are matters of common knowledge. References are given for direct quotations and points which are of special interest for the argument.

studied, and the literature, so far as it is available in translation, has had only a limited circulation. To some students the Coptic world seems to have its natural connections with Ethiopia rather than with Byzantium. Nevertheless, an examination of the antecedents of Coptic culture, and an effort to trace the development of the characteristics which distinguished it in the world of its day, will show us how the Copts and their religion and art and literature constitute a natural phenomenon, in the environment in which they developed, and will suggest the lessons which we may draw from the observation of the influences which went to build up the Coptic world. The development is, like all such evolutions, a unique one, but the principles which it illustrates are basic both to Christianity and to the political and intellectual heritage of the Graeco-Roman world and its continuation, the Byzantine state; and an analysis of the factors involved (which so far as the present writer knows has not hitherto been undertaken along the lines followed in this study) will give us a new view both of the Copts and of the Empire in which they lived.

The Byzantine Empire, as the continuation and natural development of the Roman Empire in the eastern Mediterranean area, shows us how a centralized imperial government, based upon an ancient tradition of power, and of success, can hold together a wide-spread territory containing a variety of quite distinct nationalities, differing in ethnic origin, language and religion—and this was a very large empire, if we compare the relatively slow and difficult means of travel and communication of those times with the methods of communication employed in the present day.

A considerable part of the value and interest of Byzantine history lies in the way in which we can see what the elements were which kept this empire together and gave it its strength—elements such as the Roman experience in administration, the Græco-Roman intellectual tradition as a unifying force in society and politics, and the new and powerful action of Christianity in transforming personal and social life and binding together the whole state. We can observe the interaction of all these elements in the various sections of the Em-

pire—in Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa—and we can study the differing relationships of the government and the church with what some Byzantine historians actually did call “the natives.” There were, of course, failures as well as successes, though the people in responsible positions in those days would not always view their shortcomings in the same way that we see them.

As one would expect, each of the major divisions of the Empire had its own special characteristics, and Egypt had an individuality which was in some ways more marked than those of Anatolia, Syria or Palestine, for example. Not the least important peculiarity was the dry climate which has meant that written material and other archaeological remains have been preserved in Egypt in larger quantity and in better condition than in other parts of the ancient world. This gives us a singularly favorable opportunity to observe how the diffusion of Greek culture and of Christianity affected one of the most individual of the more ancient cultures, that is, the old Egyptian civilization, which continued to carry on its own existence, on its own terms, within the Roman and Byzantine Empires, almost as far away from the Byzantine capital, Constantinople, as it was possible to get and still be in the Empire.

Egypt had been an ancient and powerful land with a highly developed civilization when Greece and Rome were in their infancy. There were many factors which tended to make this civilization conservative, such as the regularity and dependability of the weather—exemplified by the annual flooding of the Nile, on which all Egypt depended—the comparative ease with which one could make a bare living, the uniformity of the landscape and of living conditions, the comparative isolation from the rest of the world. These conditions may have fitted in naturally with what seems to have been a conservatism innate in the temperament of the Egyptians.

This nation achieved advances in government, art and science which gave it a commanding position in the ancient world; but after a long period of leadership and prosperity, Egypt was finally conquered by the Persians under Cambyses, in 525 B.C., and from that date to modern times, the



native Egyptians were the subjects of foreign conquerors or of foreign dynasties which had come to be more or less Egyptianized, such as the Ptolemies. These Egyptians were "the natives" and they kept up as much as they could of their language and their religion, all the while conscious that the land was theirs and that it was being ruled by outsiders.

The outsiders who concern us in this study were, first, the Greeks, and then the Romans. Greek civilization was planted in Egypt by Alexander the Great and his successors, the Ptolemies, in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. The new rulers produced a magnificent Greek capital, Alexandria, but this was a façade, not characteristic of the rest of Egypt. Greek naturally began to be used everywhere for administration and business, and Greek education spread through the country, but it was for the benefit of the Greeks, and was organized in forms which set them apart from the Egyptians.<sup>2</sup> The natives were by no means completely Hellenized. They continued to use their own language, even if they learned Greek, and the ancient religion was kept up so far as possible. For the lowest classes of the country people, the change in regime doubtless meant very little. Their lives were spent in an endless round of labor. The children could not be sent to school but had to be put to work as soon as possible. Most or all of these people were illiterate and this was a natural state of affairs in the Greek and Roman world at that time. The mind of a person in servile circumstances was regarded as being stunted and warped by the circumstances in which this person was fated to live, and so education was not considered either appropriate or feasible for the people who were born to be ruled by the people who were born to rule.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, transl. by George Lamb (New York, 1956), 109.

<sup>3</sup> On the educational problems and points of view of the times, see the studies by the present writer, "Education and Public Problems as Seen by Themistius," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 86 (1955), 291-307; "Education in the Christian Roman Empire: Christian and Pagan Theories under Constantine and his Successors," *Speculum*, 32 (1957), 48-61; "Ancient Education," *Classical Journal*, 52 (1957), 337-345.

When the Emperor Augustus annexed Egypt in 30 B.C., the land was transformed into a Roman dependency different in status and function from the other Roman colonies. Egypt was looked upon as suited only to provide food and taxes for the use of the Roman state. Intellectually and spiritually Rome had no appreciable influence on Egypt, though Egypt exported its own religion to a certain extent, not always to the liking of the Roman authorities. As we might expect, the peasants continued to live in their daily grind.

These were the terms on which the Egyptians lived during the years of the Roman Empire, while Christianity was beginning to spread through the Greek and Roman world. At the beginning of the fourth century of our era, that is, at the time when we start to see the development of the Roman Empire into the Byzantine Empire, we can observe different kinds of changes taking place. Christianity had been, first, officially recognized, and then officially approved. The authoritarian state was established by the Emperors Diocletian and Constantine the Great, between the years 284 and 337, as a means of saving the Empire from the political and military dangers which had threatened to destroy it during the third century. The new capital, Constantinople, was to be the seat of the now strongly centralized and militarized government of the Christian Roman Empire.

It is at this point that we can begin to observe the various factors which give Coptic culture its significance in history. The Later Roman Empire, as has been mentioned, was made up to a considerable extent of a number of originally separate nationalities whose land had been occupied either by Alexander the Great, or later by the Romans. These nationalities, in Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Gaul, Spain, Britain, were held together by Roman administration and law and by the use of the official languages, Latin and Greek, but of course the culture and the languages only penetrated to a limited depth. There was no universal free education, with state supported schools and universities, such as we are accustomed to today, and there were many regions where the old languages, cultures and religions were still very much alive. Sometimes the natives learned Latin or Greek, more

or less, often they did not. Even in a great capital like Antioch in Syria many of the working people spoke only Syriac, and in many parts of the country districts of Syria, Greek was little known. It was the same in Egypt. A man might know Greek if he were engaged in business, but his natural speech, at home and among his fellows, and in church, was the native Egyptian tongue.

In broad terms, this is the background of the ethnic composition of the Byzantine Empire, and these are the ingredients of many of the religious, social, political and economic problems that we find in the history of the world at that time. The national regions, taken all together, contributed a very characteristic stamp, and the Byzantine Empire was at this time an ecumenical state, absorbing and transforming various traditions, though the roots of these traditions continued their separate existence, and were quite visible, as roots. At the same time, as one might expect, each region, with its own history and its own geography, presented individual aspects. A few comparisons will show what was involved. Egypt resembled Syria in that each had a native stock which continued to speak its own language, but the two regions differed in their more ancient history. Save for a brief period under the Hittites, Syria had never been the seat of an indigenous and highly sophisticated and successful civilization, as Egypt had been. Instead, Syria had been a major highway for both commerce and conquest originating outside its borders. Egypt had never been a highway or melting pot like Syria; but it still possessed and kept up, so far as it could, its own original and ancient civilization, including the language, although it was under foreign domination. Palestine, again, differed from both Syria and Egypt, for the ancient Hebrew nation had left Palestine, and for a long time it had been only one of the poorer and more backward Roman provinces.

So, just as there were two kinds of people in Egypt, Greeks and natives, there were inevitably two forms of Christianity. According to legend, the church at Alexandria had been founded by St. Mark. The evidence for this is not good, but we can be reasonably sure that a city such as Alexandria

would have received a Greek-speaking Christian mission fairly early, just as there was a Greek-speaking mission at Antioch in early times. An eminent scholar<sup>4</sup> has written that "... no city has affected the development of the Christian religion more profoundly than has Alexandria. . . ." There is much to justify this statement. The Alexandrian scholars, Clement and Origen, made a contribution of the first importance toward the absorption of the Greek intellectual tradition into Christian theology, and when Arianism, early in the fourth century, raised the question of how the true nature of Christ was to be defined in terms of humanity and divinity, and co-existence with the Father, it was Athanasius of Alexandria who led the defense of the orthodox faith. Continuing the ancient learned tradition of the great Museum or library established at Alexandria in the Ptolemaic period, and also the tradition of Hellenistic Jewish scholarship represented by Philo Judaeus, the Alexandrian theological school was one of the two best known centers of Greek Christian scholarship, the other being the school of Antioch. Between them, these two centers represented the two types of exegesis, the allegorical method and the literal method, which at that time represented the two points of view in scientific theology.

The Coptic Christian tradition in the early period we know less about, but its history is still characteristic. No specific indication has been preserved of how early the Church began its work among the native, non-Greek-speaking Egyptians. All that we know is that the Church was using the Coptic language by the latter part of the third century, and that the Scriptures had been translated into the two chief dialects, Sahidic and Bohairic, which represented what is rather loosely called the Coptic language. In reality, of course, Coptic was simply the old Egyptian vernacular written in Greek letters, with some Egyptian characters added to represent sounds not present in Greek. Coptic was still a developing language, being in somewhat the same relation to ancient Egyptian as Middle English is to Anglo-Saxon. The use of

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Creed in *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. by S. R. K. Glanville (Oxford, 1942), 300.



Coptic for Christian writings had an important effect on the language—as it did in the case of other languages outside the Roman Empire—in enlarging and improving both the vocabulary and the means for the expression of ideas; and as was natural, a good bit of the new vocabulary was taken over from Greek.

Thanks to the preservation of the papyri and other documents, we are well informed as to the special characteristics of Coptic Christianity. The Copts were a deeply religious people in a very straightforward and simple fashion. Theological speculation in the Greek manner was not a prime interest of country people who were often illiterate or poorly educated and had to work hard for a living, nor could philosophical theology be a leading concern of priests who themselves came from the same origin. It is characteristic that the commonest personal names were taken from the Old Testament—Abraham, Jacob, Aaron, Samuel and so on. We get a very strong impression of the popular religion from a number of sources. One of the recent very interesting discoveries is the Prayer-Book of Bishop Serapion, a collection of prayers dating about 350.<sup>5</sup> As the editors point out,<sup>6</sup> the prayers are extremely pious and scriptural in both language and contents. They do not show a very wide circle of ideas, but they are natural and direct.

The same impression, on wider terms, comes from the biography of St. Antony, the great ascetic leader, written in Greek by St. Athanasius of Alexandria, who had known Antony and other fathers who had retired to the desert to live lives of holiness, devoting themselves to prayer, fasting and manual labor.<sup>7</sup> But Antony and the others kept in touch with the world, and they were looked upon by their lay brethren with admiration, pride and affection, and throngs of people, knowing Antony's piety and good sense, visited him to seek his

<sup>5</sup> *Bishop Serapion's Prayer Book*, ed. by John Wordsworth (London, 1899).

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Athanasius' *Life of St. Antony* is now available in a translation by Robert T. Meyer, with excellent introduction and commentary, in the series "Ancient Christian Writers," 10 (Westminster, Maryland, 1950). The quotations from the biography given here are taken, with grateful acknowledgement, from Professor Meyer's version.

blessing or to be cured of ailments, physical or mental, or to get his advice in their personal difficulties (including business disputes). Antony, Athanasius writes, was illiterate and knew only Coptic, though he came of a well-to-do family which owned a large farm and lived in comfortable circumstances. Athanasius writes that Antony preached a very simple form of faith, based on an intimate knowledge of the Bible, and that he taught a steady belief in the teaching of the Gospels. Athanasius (§ 16) quotes Antony as saying that "the Scriptures are really sufficient for our instruction." Greek-speaking priests and monks came from Alexandria to visit Antony and to discuss theology with him—and perhaps to impress him with their learning—but he silenced them, Athanasius says, by declaring that he thought that the main thing was to follow the teachings of Christ. Antony stood out as the representative of the simple faith of the uneducated Copts as contrasted with what these Copts would have thought of as the sophisticated religion of the Platonizing scholars of Alexandria. Athanasius, himself a highly educated scholar in the Greek tradition, makes Antony say to his visitors from Alexandria (§ 78), "We Christians [i.e., we Coptic Christians] . . . possess religious truth, not on the basis of Greek philosophical reasoning, but founded on the power of a faith vouchsafed us by God through Jesus Christ." Writing this in 357, after many years of struggle against Arianism, Athanasius must have really admired what he found in Antony and the other desert fathers, even though he knew that this type of faith would not answer the needs of people outside the Coptic area who had been accustomed to think in terms of Greek philosophy.

At the same time Antony, as we have seen him in Athanasius' biography, exemplified another characteristic aspect of Coptic Christianity, the lively belief in demons and the supernatural. We are told that on occasion Antony found it necessary to fight off whole swarms of demons and evil spirits who contrived the most ingenious and alluring forms of temptation. The saint was always successful, and his triumphs, recorded gravely by the great theologian Athanasius, gave courage and confidence to all Coptic Egypt. For these people, demons really existed and they attacked not only Antony but

everybody else, lay and clerical. The struggle against them—the very need to struggle against them—would among other things tend to develop, as a regular part of the Coptic character, a certain toughness and independence, and a concentration of purpose, which some other peoples perhaps would not have occasion to acquire.

It seems, indeed, to have been this awareness of the need for the individual to exercise himself against the active forces of evil, coupled with a willingness and even eagerness to lead a hard life, which was responsible for the early appearance of asceticism in Egypt. The Copts took the lead in this form of Christian living, and provided examples of both solitary withdrawal and life in ascetic communities which were copied throughout the Christian world. As a race inured to hardship, the Copts looked upon ascetic discipline as a natural means of achieving a special degree of holiness, and in some cases at least the regime was healthy; St. Antony lived to be a hundred and five. The form of devotion is a little difficult for some people to understand now, and it was one of the features of Christianity which was most ridiculed by the pagans. But the plain people admired and revered these athletes of Christ, as they were called, and looked upon their achievement as bringing blessing and strength to the whole body of Christians. This is a characteristic and instructive example of the sense of community, of membership in the body of Christ, and the sharing with others, which was characteristic of the early church.

There was another element in the Coptic world which has not been given as much prominence by scholars as it should have, namely the high degree of illiteracy. This is a factor in ancient history which all students are aware of, though we sometimes take it for granted and do not stop to think of all the consequences which it brought with it. Perhaps, also, we do not always think what the causes of illiteracy were, and what they tell us about a world in which it was taken for granted that a sometimes substantial portion of the population was unlettered.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See my paper in the *Classical Journal*, cited above, n. 3.

In the case of Egypt in the Roman and Christian era, we have ample evidence, in the papyri and ostraka, of the widespread lack of education. The Coptic clergy and monks came from the common people, and to begin with, at least, we would expect the clergy to be not much more literate than their neighbors. The original ascetic groups and monasteries were in fact made up of laymen. The illiteracy of St. Antony has already been mentioned. Other evidence is characteristic. The church historian Socrates<sup>9</sup> describes an argument over a typical Christological point between the Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria, who held office from 385 to 412, and the monks of the desert. Socrates remarks quite casually that most of the monks were illiterate, and points out the effect of this upon the way in which the Patriarch was able to conduct his side of the controversy. There is no need to go into detail about the advantage which the literate Patriarch would have over the ignorant monks, though the monks had their own special weapon in the form of a mass invasion of Alexandria, in which they put their side of the controversy into the form of mob action.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, we possess special evidence as to the type of education, or lack of it, among some of the clergy. This comes from a number of ostraka, or bits of broken pottery, which were used as writing material by the poorest people, those who were so poor that they could not afford papyrus. A collection of ostraka written in Coptic have been recovered which once belonged to the correspondence files of Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis, who lived in the latter part of the sixth century.<sup>11</sup> Bishop Abraham was accustomed to receive, from candidates for holy orders, written statements of the amount of preparation which the candidates undertook to offer for examination before being ordained. One reason why the bishop had to be

<sup>9</sup> *Eccl. hist.*, 6, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Kingsley's historical novel *Hypatia*, which follows the ancient sources faithfully, gives an excellent picture of the life of the Christian community at Alexandria in this period.

<sup>11</sup> On the ostraka discussed here, and on the ancient accomplishments in memorizing the Bible or parts of it, see A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, English translation (London, 1911), 210-215.



sure of this, apparently, was that the candidates might very well be illiterate. Some could perhaps read a little, but numbers of the ordinands mentioned in these humble memoranda could not write, and had to get someone to write for them. One ostrakon is addressed to the bishop by three candidates, Samuel, Jacob and Aaron, who have requested ordination as deacons. They state they are ready to observe the commands and the canons and to be obedient, and to learn the Gospel of John by the end of Pentecost. If they do not learn it by heart, they agree that they will not be ordained. Each candidate is vouched for by two or three guarantors, and one of these, the priest Patermute, states that it was he who wrote the ostrakon, on request of the candidates.

Other ostraka in the bishop's files show that he had set other candidates to learn by heart the Gospel of Matthew, or that of Mark, or other gospels, while one literate candidate was required to write out the Gospel of John, the theory being, evidently, that if he did this he would become fairly familiar with it. It looks as though the bishop set different tasks to different candidates in order to spread out the knowledge of the Scriptures among his clergy.

Bishop Aphu of Oxyrhyncus once required a candidate for deacon's orders to learn twenty-five Psalms, two Epistles of St. Paul, and a portion of a gospel, actually not a heavy task if we remember that it was not uncommon for monks to know all the Psalms by heart, and that there is credible evidence that some people learned the whole Bible by heart and would recite it. All this, of course, was at a time when memorizing was much more practised than it is now. Naturally this illiteracy of the clergy would have been greater in the outlying districts and the little villages than in the large centers, but it is quite characteristic of the state of the people as a whole, and it gives us a rather striking picture of the Coptic Church.

One more element in Coptic history needs to be taken into account. This concerns the situation which developed in Egypt as the monophysite controversy grew into a major political problem. Here we leave the Coptic part of the country and return to the world of imperial politics and

theological scholarship at Alexandria. We must summarize here very briefly a large and complex subject which is set out more fully in various modern studies.<sup>12</sup> As is well known, the debates over the understanding and proper statement of the nature of Christ, as composed in some way, difficult for humans to understand, of both divine and human elements, had occupied theologians for a long time. The question, of course, was whether our salvation is effected by a truly divine Christ, or by a Christ who was in reality human, in which case, of course, the value of the salvation would be perhaps open to question. The Council of Chalcedon in 451 had undertaken to find a definition of the Savior's nature which would be true and universally acceptable, but in order to try to assure the greatest acceptability, the definition was put in such terms that many earnest people could not subscribe to it. As a reaction, there grew up in both Egypt and Syria a Monophysite party, as it was called, which believed that the Divine Nature and the human nature of Christ coalesced, at the Incarnation, into one composite nature, instead of remaining in two natures, as the definition of Chalcedon had it, without confusion, without change, without division or separation. The controversy that followed Chalcedon stirred up the bitterest passions in Syria and Egypt, for the Monophysites felt that they were preserving and defending the belief in our Lord's true divinity. The imperial government, with the responsibility for bringing all its subjects to the true faith, employed force to put down the Monophysites and thereby inevitably provoked a hostility which grew from religious dissension to political opposition and then to agitation which inflamed the nationalism always latent in these regions. In Egypt, orthodoxy came to be synonymous with persecution by the imperial government, carried out through the instrumentality of the patriarchs who were arbitrarily sent to Alexandria and backed up by imperial troops. Monophysitism came to be a national creed, and every celebration of the Eucharist provided a chance for a demonstration of national solidarity. The government continued to use force, and when the Moslems

<sup>12</sup> One of the best treatments is that of E. L. Woodward, *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1916).

began their expansion in the seventh century, the Monophysites in Egypt and Syria welcomed them as better masters than the hated Constantinople government. Here again was a development which would turn the Copts in upon themselves and make them conscious of another barrier dividing them from the Empire. After the Council of Chalcedon, it has been pointed out, the Coptic documents use noticeably fewer Greek loan words.

With our wisdom as students of the past we can see the strength of national pride in the Greeks and Copts which by itself would have kept them apart linguistically, and we can also perceive the work of the Universal Church which overcame the language barrier. This seems to have been as far as any solution of the problem could have been carried in those times, and very likely it was not even thought of as a problem.

Our natural reaction, based on our own experience of the work of the Church and of the responsibilities of modern governments, would be to say that the imperial authorities at Constantinople, or their representatives at Alexandria, ought to have given top priority to a free universal educational system which would have brought to the Copts both the Greek language and cultural heritage, and the famous political tradition of the Roman state. It would seem to have been possible, in the light of our own experience, to add these traditions to the Coptic language and cultural tradition. We should also perhaps look for some effort by the Church itself in Egypt to raise the standard of education among the native Christians and to give them literacy in Coptic at least.

It looks as though no one in those days ever thought of attempting such things. Whether it would have been financially possible, from the point of view of that era, we cannot be sure, though it seems safe to say that if either the imperial government or the Church had thought the problem important enough, means would have been found. The situation as it actually developed suggests two conclusions, or perhaps one should say two questions. One point is that education, by itself, was not always thought of as a necessary instrument of social and political unification. Certainly there were in-

dividuals, such as Themistius, the pagan orator and philosopher of the fourth century after Christ, who saw clearly the need, and also the means, of turning the barbarians into useful citizens of the Roman Empire;<sup>13</sup> and the Emperor Justinian also had a glimpse of this;<sup>14</sup> but there is no indication in the sources (at least so far as the present writer knows) that this question was consciously formulated and consciously faced.

The other question that concerns us here is that of the role of the Greek-speaking Orthodox Church, which took such great pride, and found such great strength in the fact that it was the Church of the Greek-speaking and Greek-educated people, reading and teaching the New Testament in the language in which it had been written, and at the same time the heir of classical Greek literature and philosophy, as well as of the political tradition of Alexander the Great, for example, who had brought Greek culture to Egypt. The Church had attempted to bring Christianity to all the people of Egypt by giving them the Scriptures in Coptic as well as in Greek. To this extent the Copts had been given a bond with the Greek-speaking element in Egypt that they had not had before. But to go beyond that, and to train the Copts in the Greek language, and the Greek philosophical and literary heritage, was quite another thing. This would have brought the Copts to be partakers in the national pride which the Greek-speaking members of the Orthodox Church had in common. If the Egyptians had been forced, or induced, by Alexander the Great, or his successors, to accept the Greek language and culture, then, when the time came, they would have become Greek-speaking Christians, like the Cappadocians in Anatolia, for example, who gave the Church such great leaders in the fourth century. However, this sequence of events had not occurred, and the Church apparently did not visualize, in the terms in which we today see the situation, any need or desirability of Hellenizing the Copts.

<sup>13</sup> See my study of Themistius, cited above, n. 3.

<sup>14</sup> This subject was treated by me in an article, "Justinian's View of Christianity and the Greek Classics," *Anglican Theological Review*, 40, No. 1 (1958), 13-22.

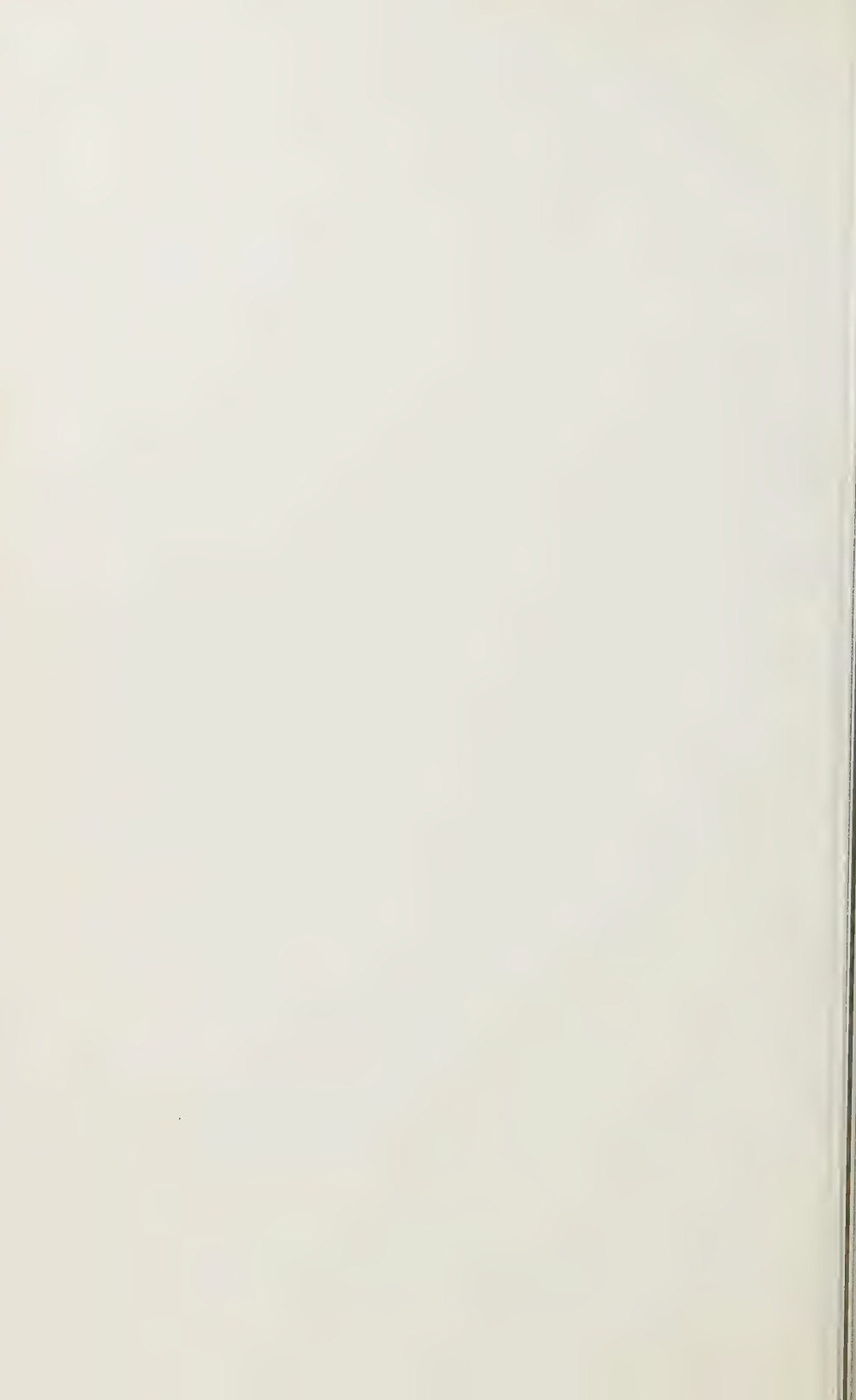


But the Copts themselves might have had something to say. We cannot venture to say whether or not they would have been able or willing, if given the means, to become Hellenized. Some individuals very likely did, or at least they became bilingual in Coptic and Greek. As one looks at their very characteristic and individual art, which has a ruggedness and a concentrated strength and a special character all its own, one wonders whether the Copts may not really have preferred to keep to themselves.<sup>15</sup> If they had had any interest in reviving ancient Egyptian art forms, or in copying the Graeco-Roman style, one would think that even mediocre artists, with any desire to experiment and practice, could have produced imitations which would be recognizable as such. And there are certainly real technical achievements, in such things as friezes and architectural decorations, which indicate a skill among the Coptic artists which suggests that they were capable of copying the finest Hellenistic work. Apparently this art is what the Copts developed for themselves, and we can see in it not only the bright colors and hard outlines which would be needed to make the art stand up in the powerful sunlight of Egypt, but the mental toughness of the Egyptians at all periods.

If we try to think, finally, about the meaning of all these factors for Byzantine history—regardless, now, of how the Byzantines saw or did not see the questions—we can draw some characteristic lessons from Egypt. Given the conditions of the time and place, the arrival of Christianity had not been sufficient, by itself, to absorb or re-direct the feelings of national solidarity which any people like the Copts would inevitably have. The gap, apparently, could not be wholly closed by religion alone. But what really caused the gap is the important question, and here the lack of educational opportunity and effort may be the answer. It would seem that illiteracy must have been a major factor. Nationalism undoubtedly played a part, as many scholars have rightly insisted, and

<sup>15</sup> Convenient handbooks illustrating the art of the Copts are *Pagan and Christian Egypt*, ed. by J. D. Cooney, the catalogue of an exhibition held in the Brooklyn Museum in 1941; and *Late Egyptian and Coptic Art, An Introduction to the Collections in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1943).

nationalism embraces the ethnic and linguistic factors which make for divisiveness. But illiteracy represents the factors which keep nationalism alive. It is the implications behind this situation which concern us in our study of the larger history of the times. Here we can see one of the strengths, as well as one of the weaknesses, of the Byzantine tradition. The strength, throughout the Empire's territory, and throughout its history, lay in the national pride based on the Greek culture and the Greek Church. The weakness stemmed from the ancient Greek view, still surviving, whether consciously or unconsciously, of the natural barrier between Greek and barbarian, which made it impossible to visualize the thorough Hellenisation of the Copts and other similar national groups which had always, in the Graeco-Roman view, been in inferior positions, sometimes almost in a state of serfdom. At the same time, there may be another source of strength, not always recognized today, in the presence of people such as the Copts within the Empire. It is true that their discontent, aggravated by the imperial government's policy in the Monophysite controversy, facilitated the Moslem occupation of Egypt, just as the similar tension in Syria operated in the same way. But the Copts did, for a very long time, make it possible to keep the agricultural economy of Egypt going, and so to keep up a food supply which was vitally necessary for the Empire as a whole.



# The Dramaturgy Of Sophocles' *Inachus*

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THE PUBLICATION IN A RECENT VOLUME of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri of a new fragment of the *Inachus* of Sophocles provides a suitable occasion for investigating the dramaturgy of that play.<sup>1</sup> There is disagreement as to whether the *Inachus* was a tragedy or a satyr play. Because the latter opinion is threatening to prevail, there is need to say a few words at the start in defense of the other view. The rest of the paper will reconstruct the tragedy in the light of the surviving fragments.

Tiberius Hemsterhuis<sup>2</sup> created a problem by suggesting for no apparent reason that *Inachus* was satyric. The great English editor, A. C. Pearson,<sup>3</sup> in his preface to the play is

<sup>1</sup> E. Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXIII* (London, 1956), No. 2369, 55–59 (henceforth cited: *POxy*).

<sup>2</sup> Tiberius Hemsterhuis, *Aristophanes, Plutus*,<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig, 1811), 248 on Schol. 727.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Cambridge, 1917), 198–199.



ambiguous as to his stance. In his notes to fragments 291 and 292, however, he appears to align himself in the satyr camp. Jebb, whom he quotes on frg. 270.4, is implicitly on the tragic side;<sup>4</sup> and disagreement with his predecessor may be a reason for his ambiguity. Certain recent scholars have wholeheartedly endorsed Hemsterhuis' suggestion.<sup>5</sup> The satyric school argue from the "jovial" matter of the play, from alleged representations of portions of the drama in later vase paintings, and now from *PTebt* 692. Yet there need be nothing jovial in watching one's daughter become a beast. Further the relevance of the archaeological material to the Sophoclean play can only be asserted and never proved.<sup>6</sup> *PTebt* 692 will be discussed below.

Wilamowitz disagreed with the suggestion of Hemsterhuis and disposed of it with the acute observation that among the almost thirty fragments quoted by ancient sources not

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In this paper Pearson's edition of the fragments and his enumeration are used. There is no force in Pearson's attempt to apply the epic (see *Il.* 2. 262) "a covering of shamelessness" (frg. 291) to satyrs; nor has he cogent grounds to consider the rare word of frg. 292 ἀελλόθριξ, *with hair floating in the wind* (*LSJ* s.v.), to be "an instance of comic hyperbole." Rather the word shows Aeschylean influence: see Schmid-Stählin *I.* 2 p. 487 n. 4. In short the remark of Hunt and Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, 3 (London, 1933), 3 [henceforth cited: *PTebt*] that the satyr position "is cogently upheld by Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, i 198." is hyperbolic.

<sup>4</sup>Jebb considers the chorus to have been composed of Argives not satyrs.

<sup>5</sup>See especially the important monograph of Rudolf Pfeiffer, "Die Netzfischer des Aischylos und der Inachos des Sophokles Zwei Satyrspiel-Funde," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Abteilung*, 1938, Heft 2 (henceforth cited: Pfeiffer). Pfeiffer has convinced Max Pohlenz, *Die Griechische Tragödie*,<sup>2</sup> (Göttingen, 1954), vol. 1, p. 169 and vol. 2, p. 72, Albin Lesky, *Die Tragische Dichtung der Hellenen* (Göttingen, 1956), 135, and D. L. Page, *Select Papyri III, Literary Papyri Poetry* (Cambridge, 1950), 22-26 (henceforth cited: Page).

<sup>6</sup>There are too many variables. Only a fraction of satyric and tragic titles are preserved. A vase may refer to a lost drama. In the fourth century Chaeremon composed an *Io*; others may have in the fifth. Further the freedom with which vase-painters treated stage representations is notorious: see e.g. Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1953), 176, "... vase-paintings . . . which depict scenes based on tragedy, can rarely, if ever, be taken to reproduce the scene as acted." One can never be certain that a satyr is not present on a vase for artistic reasons rather than historical ones.

one speaks of the play as a satyr drama.<sup>7</sup> The distinguished scholars, Wilhelm Schmid and A. von Blumenthal, realized the cogency of this observation and accepted *Inachus* as a tragedy.<sup>8</sup> Pearson's (p. 198) attempted refutation through comparison of the nine fragments of *Achilles' Lovers* is not cogent because, as Pearson neglects to observe, the context of frg. 153 speaks of the chorus of satyrs and no further description would have been necessary to identify the play as satyric drama.<sup>9</sup>

The observation of Wilamowitz may be further elaborated. Frg. 270P (vol. 1, 200-201) from the parodos is quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*AR* 1. 25) with the remark: Σοφοκλεῖ δ' ἐν Ἰνάχῳ δράματι ἀνάπαιστον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ λεγόμενον. Dionysius' care in the quotation is evident by his meticulous specification of the author, title, metre, and speaker. Furthermore, he glosses the title *Inachus* with the word δράματι. Compare his other two quotations from Sophocles in the first book of *AR*. They are from plays known to be tragedies. In *AR* 1. 48 from the *Laocoon* (frg. 373P) he introduces his quotation ἐν Λαοκόωντι δράματι and in *AR* 1. 12 from the *Triptolemus* (frg. 598P) similarly he writes ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ δράματι. If *Inachus* were a satyr play and not a tragedy I submit that Dionysius would have written ἐν Ἰνάχῳ σατυρικῷ or . . . σατύροις and not ἐν Ἰνάχῳ δράματι which is the way he refers to a Sophoclean tragedy. Dionysius was a grammarian and a literary critic who would never have tolerated such an ambiguity. Those persons who wish to consider *Inachus* a satyr play must provide a parallel for δράμα alone

<sup>7</sup> Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Einleitung in die Griechische Tragödie* (Berlin, 1907), 88 n. 53: "es gilt für ein satyrdrama, aber es ist unerlaubt, in fast 30 anführungen, wo diese bezeichnung fehlt, zufall anzunehmen." Wilamowitz in Tycho von Wilamowitz, *Die Dramatische Technik des Sophokles* (Berlin, 1917), 372 joins the *Laune* of *Inachus* with those of *Ichneutae* and *The Lovers of Achilles*, the latter two undisputedly satyr-plays. This accords with his view that it was a *Nachspiel*, as *Alcestitis*: see note 58 *infra*.

<sup>8</sup> Schmid-Stählin, I. 2, p. 435 n. 3 (contrast *id.* p. 325 n. 8) and von Blumenthal, *RE* 5A (1927) 1062. 33ff.

<sup>9</sup> See the scholiast on Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1025 (p. 458 Dübner), from Photius *Lex.* p. 369. 4ff. Naber.

with no qualifying epithet or substantive to mean "satyr-play." When the ancients referred to satyric drama, they said satyric drama, sometimes merely the epithet alone, and not drama.<sup>10</sup> Indeed *δρᾶμα* was not used absolutely of comedy in Attic and rarely elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> For the restriction compare the English *play* which never covers *opera*.

The setting of the play before the palace (*δόμοις* frg. 277P) of King Inachus further militates against the satyric hypothesis. The action of tragedies regularly took place before palace fronts while satyr plays preferred a rustic setting.<sup>12</sup> The number of roles in *Inachus* (there were excluding the coryphaeus surely six and probably seven) is excessive for a satyr play. *Cyclops* has three and *Ichneutae* four. It is what one would expect for a Sophoclean tragedy.<sup>13</sup> *Inachus* requires three actors; *Ichneutae* only two.<sup>14</sup> A satyr play evidently did not exceed 800 verses.<sup>15</sup> If the stichometric POxy 2369 is from the first epeisodion, then the play is too long to be a satyr play. Further there is no evidence to believe the chorus of *Inachus* was composed of satyrs but rather of

<sup>10</sup> For examples see Stephanus-Dindorf, 3. 1666D and Herbert Richards, *CR* 14 (1900), 388.

<sup>11</sup> This was proved in an excellent article by Herbert Richards, "On the Word *Δρᾶμα*," *CR* 14 (1900), 388-393. See further Schmid-Stählin, I, p. 631 n. 1. I have taken the analogy of English *play* from Richards, 392.

<sup>12</sup> For the palace fronts of tragedy see Schmid-Stählin I. 2 p. 67; for the rustic settings of satyr plays see *ib.*, 81.

<sup>13</sup> In the preserved tragedies Sophocles varies from five to eight speaking parts with a distinct preference toward the larger figure (eight in *Aj.*, *OT*, and *OC*). Euripides prefers eight but experimented with more (*Supp.* 9; *Andr.* & *Or.* 10, *Phoen.* 11). If one considers Silenus to be coryphaeus, the roles in *Cyc.* are two, in *Ich.* three. The tragic tabulations do not include the coryphaeus. See further Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 p. 59 n. 2 whence I have taken these figures but which are not consistently accurate. *Trachiniae* has only seven characters not eight; and *Ich.* does not have only two.

<sup>14</sup> If Silenus is coryphaeus and not a true actor, *Cyclops* needs only two actors. It is customary, however, to give it three: see Albert Müller, *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* (Freiburg, 1886), 173, n. 4; A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford, 1907), 224; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, 137. Later, however, Pickard-Cambridge (p. 244) admits Silenus was "leader of the chorus."

<sup>15</sup> See Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 p. 65 n. 5.

Argive elders.<sup>16</sup> A satyr play requires by definition a satyr chorus.<sup>17</sup> Next there is no literary evidence that fifth century satyr plays treated the Io story whereas Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincit*, is proof enough that she could be adapted to effective tragic presentation.<sup>18</sup>

There is new evidence from the papyrus. Lobel's remark:<sup>19</sup> "The trace under  $\chi\omicron(\rho\acute{o}\varsigma)$  is compatible with  $\sigma\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho(\omega\nu)$ , which would resolve all doubts about the classification of the play . . ." is not untrue but misleading. The trace is just as compatible with  $\gamma\epsilon\rho(\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu)$ . That is how I should restore it. This restoration has the advantage of preserving an even margin for the scenic notations. Lobel's  $\sigma\alpha\tau\upsilon$  is too long for an even margin but would extend too far to the left and so not accord with the careful symmetry of the MS elsewhere.

For all these reasons there is no alternative but to consider the drama a tragedy and not a satyr play. Now there is need to establish the probable *dramatis personae*. Each character is listed with the evidence for his presence in the action.

Inachus

Title

Io

Frag. 281P

Chorus of Argive Elders Fragg. 270, 284P

<sup>16</sup> Wilamowitz (*Einleitung*, 88, n. 53) saw this and Jebb (quoted by Pearson on frg. 270.4P). The lofty address to their king (fragg. 270, 271P) is the evidence and the choric utterance (frg. 284P) calling Inachus *father*. In a satyr's mouth this could only refer to Silenus.

<sup>17</sup> See A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre* (Oxford, 1907): "The chorus was always composed of satyrs."

<sup>18</sup> For a catalogue of the subject matter of satyr plays with comic parallels see Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 p. 82 n. 5. For Sophocles in particular see the essay of William Nickerson Bates, "The Satyr Dramas of Sophocles," *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps on his Seventieth Birthday* (Princeton, 1936), 14-23, who considers *Inachus* satyric. Exclusive of *Inachus* no satyr play is known to treat the Io theme. For the tragic Io see Sam Eitrem, *RE* 9 (1916), 1732ff. It is amusing to find critics who consider the play satyric citing with approval Wilamowitz' dating on the basis of friendly Athenian relations with Argos at the close of the Archidamian War. Such a view attributes an extraordinary sense of humor to any Argive ambassadors in the audience.

<sup>19</sup> *POxy* 23, 59.



Hermes	<i>PTebt</i> 692
Messenger from Palace	<i>POxy</i> 2369
Iris	Frg. 272P
Argos	Frg. 281P
Second Messenger (?)	Frg. 282P <sup>20</sup>

Lobel<sup>21</sup> believes that Zeus was present on the stage during the prologue. However, there is no ancient testimonium that Zeus shared in the action whereas the presence of Hermes and Iris is attested. Further it would have been unsuitable to bring the highest gods onto the tragic stage. Pearson, even when possibly thinking in terms of a satyr play, saw this and following Wilamowitz observed: "Hermes and Iris appeared as the agents of Zeus and Hera . . . themselves too august personages for stage representation." This wise view was accepted by Wilhelm Schmid.<sup>22</sup> *POxy* 2369 frg. 1 col. i. 24 affords new evidence. Here the stranger is called ὁ πᾶν μύσος, *the abominable fellow*, (Lobel) and (i 28) φηλώσας ἐμέ, *hoodwinked*, (Lobel). Sophocles would never bring Zeus on stage as "an abominable fellow who hoodwinked King Inachus," although for Hermes such treatment would not be so shocking.<sup>23</sup> A reconstruction of the action of the tragedy, *Inachus*, in the light of the fragments follows.

<sup>20</sup> The second messenger would be the one to whom frg. 282P is addressed. The fragment should be translated: "Well done. And know, as the proverb has it, 'from lowly state a man may grow renowned.'" The fragment apparently was delivered in dialogue to a single male character of humble station and still young who had just performed a meritorious deed, probably offstage (such a maxim would not be recalled for a transitory favor performed in the speaker's presence). If so this would have just been narrated in a messenger speech. The speaker most easily is Inachus addressing a servant, who is not the messenger for the metamorphosis.

<sup>21</sup> *POxy* 23, 55.

<sup>22</sup> Pearson, vol. I, 199, cf. Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 p. 435.

<sup>23</sup> Lobel's citation (p. 59) of frg. 275P as evidence "that Zeus took part in the action" is tendentious. The language is metaphorical and refers to the prosperity that came to the Argive plain when Io was loved by Zeus (see Pearson vol. I, 199 and frg. 273P).

## 1. PROLOGUE

The prologue consists of exposition and one piece of action. Compare the prologue of *Trachiniae* where the dramatic situation is roughly similar. Deianeira and Nutrix provide the audience with the necessary exposition and then there occurs the dismissal of Hyllus. The prologue of *Oedipus Tyrannus* is similar with its expository dialogue between the king and priest and then the interruption caused by the arrival of Kreon from Delphi. *Inachus* requires the protagonist on stage and an interlocutor to develop the exposition. Of the known *dramatis personae* Io would best be there. The king discusses with his daughter the benefits that have come to the Argive Plain through the beneficence of his daughter's paramour. Fragg. 273P and 275P are compatible with the first part of the prologue. The choice of Io is important dramatically because it allows the audience to see her in her pristine shape and so her later entrance as a heifer is rendered more effective. Io would be gentle and feminine in the manner of Tecmessa, Deianeira, Ismene, or Chrysothemis, i.e. portrayed to gain the audience's sympathy. This is imperative if the wrath of the protagonist at the later mistreatment of his daughter is to be justified before the spectators.

A visitor arrives.<sup>24</sup> His arrival would be announced to the king by Io for the coryphaeus is not yet present. He presents an extraordinary appearance in the theater; for he is in foreign guise, *κάρβαρος*, a word previously unattested for Sophocles.<sup>25</sup> The epithet suggests an elaborate costume of some sort. The Egyptian Herald (A. *Supp.* 914) gained the same adjective and so too Cassandra (A. *Ag.* 1061). *αἰθώς* is applied to him and may mean he was an Egyp-

<sup>24</sup> *POxy* 2369 proves that the stranger who effected the metamorphosis arrived early in the action: see Lobel, *POxy* 23, 55. The situation could only have occurred in the prologue.

<sup>25</sup> See *POxy* 2369 frg. 1 col. ii. 28. P. Groeneboom, *Aeschylus' Agamemnon* (Groningen, 1944), 286, n. 8 collects the ancient evidence for this word and concludes: "de lexicographische overlevering wijst op een Karisch-Phoenicische origine."

tian.<sup>26</sup> Lobel correctly renders *burnt black*; for *tanned* would not be unusual for a Greek. Probably Hermes (for that as we shall see is who it is) is masquerading as an ambassador or wealthy traveler from the tropics. Like Admetus, Inachus acts the perfect host, receives the visitor, and instructs his daughter to lead him into the palace. Here is the clearest reason for the presence of a third actor attendant on the king during the prologue. There must be someone to get Hermes off stage into the palace. It can not be Inachus who keeps position. It may be a mute but this would force a monologue exposition in the Euripidean manner. Deianeira is no parallel for Nutrix enters with the queen at line one. Of the known *dramatis personae* Io is the most likely candidate. Iris and Argos are obviously impossible. Her only rival is the Messenger as a "Servant of the House." But this would force the exposition to become a dialogue between the king and a hireling; and a hireling not a princess would be the rich stranger's escort into the palace.

Io and Hermes then exit into the palace while Inachus remains alone on stage during the recitation of the parodos. There is a similar retention of the actor in *Philoctetes* and *Oedipus at Colonus*. It is important to realize the position of the three actors at this moment in the action, because much of the reconstruction depends on it. We now know (*POxy* 2369) that the metamorphosis of Io took place off stage (ergo Io must be in the palace) and at the hands of the visitor (ergo Hermes must be in the palace during the moment of the metamorphosis). We know from frg. 270P that Inachus was on stage during the parodos in which he is *directly addressed* by the chorus. It is because he forgot this that Lobel erred in the assignment of speakers. Inachus was *not* an eyewitness to the metamorphosis of his daughter. Sophocles purposely did not make him an eyewitness just so that he might provide an excellent motivation for describing the metamorphosis of the girl to the audience, sc. the king

<sup>26</sup> So Lobel on *POxy* 2369 frg. 1 col. ii. 25. This is not necessarily so. Compare the parallel Greek μέλας and Latin *niger* as *sunburnt* and not necessarily *negroid*. Illustrative material is collected by W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2 (Cambridge, 1950), p. 267 n. 5 and p. 452.

would want to know, and would have every reason in the world to want to know, the details of his daughter's misfortune. A horrified servant would come out from the scene of the change and tell his master. This is better than having the august personage of the tragic basileus burst forth in undignified haste to inform a group of elders, who are of inferior social position, of so personal a tragedy. Such conduct, the public airing of royal grief, would be unseemly. In just such spirit did Kreon gently reprove the wailing Oedipus (*OT* 1515); and so Nutrix reminds Phedra in *Hippolytus* (213-215). It is for this reason that Inachus retains his position on stage during the parodos.

## 2. PARODOS

The song praised a king who had brought prosperity to the land. The audience had been informed of the prosperity during the exposition. Two anapaestic fragments (270, 271P) from the parodos have survived. The basileus is addressed with the respect and honor that is due an aged sovereign by his people. The extended invocation is more compatible with a situation of peace and prosperity than otherwise. The misfortune is yet to come. The anapaestic marching song is Aeschylean and was used in *Ajax* 134-171. Frg. 270 deserves comparison with *Ajax* 134-135 which has the same form, though is more compressed.<sup>27</sup> There is the common vocative *παῖ*, the patronymic, then the realm; and as here the words are sung by subjects to their king. The wealth of proper nouns (frg. 271P)<sup>28</sup> that Sophocles has succeeded in skill-

<sup>27</sup> Ajax is directly addressed although he evidently exited at 177. But Ajax is in a tent with a flap for a door and not in a palace of stone. The sailors may reasonably hope that their master will hear them as he rests within the tent. See further the comment of Denniston-Page on *A. Ag.* 23ff. with which I am in substantial agreement.

<sup>28</sup> Jebb, quoted by Pearson on frg. 271P, is vague concerning the details of geography. I should add the underlined words and read: "from the (northern) extremity of Pindus and *southern tip* of Laemos." When he later speaks of the river Inachus "sending out branches" he must mean "absorbing branches." Great rivers absorb streams and rivulets and then flow into the sea. They do not dwindle out into a multitude of branches. For further details see Jacoby on *FGrHist* 1 F 102c.



fully inserting into his anapaests reminds us of the parodos of Persae.<sup>29</sup> These noble verses are not imaginable in the mouths of satyrs and silenés. If the analogy of *Ajax* is valid, the parodos would consist of an anapaestic marching song (c. 40 lines), strophe, antistrophe, and epode. Frg. 277P is conveniently assigned to the lyric portion of the parodos. I should emend frg. 277P to read:

1. ξανθὴ δ' Ἀφροδισία λάταξ

2. <τοῖς> πᾶσιν ἐπεκτύπει δόμοις.

This simple addition to the text of Athenaeus (668B) makes metrical uniformity out of the fragment which can now be scanned:

1. — : — ∪ ∪ — / ∪ — ∪ —

2. — : — ∪ ∪ — / ∪ — ∪ —

Translate “a reddish Aphrodisiac drop clattered on the whole house.” Sophocles regularly uses the plural as *house* referring to the stage building. The fragment describes in metaphorical language taken from the game of cottabus the passion of Zeus for Io. Without the article one would render “all houses.” There is no reason why a drop should fall on all the houses in Argos nor could it. The metaphor in the received text is inaccurate and ludicrous. The emendation, therefore, is in the interests of metre and sense.

The metre of frg. 287P forms the end of a lyric unit,<sup>30</sup> whether antistrophe or epode. The translation is “the beating of Argive earth,” a poetic expression for “I hear someone coming.” The phrase could signal the entrance of the messenger rushing from the palace to tell Inachus of the metamorphosis of Io. The letters are not incompatible with the traces of POxy 2369. frg. 1 col. i. 15-16.

<sup>29</sup> The Aeschylean characteristics in the fragments of *Inachus* have already been noted by Chandler R. Post, *HSCP* 33 (1922), 58. They may well argue for an early dating. For Aeschylean characteristics in the speech of the early plays see Lesky, 140 and Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 pp. 486ff. with notes.

<sup>30</sup> Compare S. *Tr.* 851, 862 and S. *El.* 834-835, 847-848.

## 3. FIRST EPEISODION

Both the papyrus fragments reasonably fit into the first epeisodion. Col. i. 21-22 are too fragmentary to determine the speaker. If as Lobel suggests (p. 58) the imperative λάβε]τε could be restored, one would assume that an irate Inachus was addressing the elders. Col. i. 23-28 are spoken by Inachus (Lobel rightly). Lobel is further correct in assigning col. ii. 1-3 to the coryphaeus, who addresses Inachus. The shocked repetition of the fact of Inachus being deceived and the protestation of ignorance suggest that this is the first articulated response of the chorus to the news. If so we can assume that the fragment is from the beginning of the epeisodion. The stichometric MS (verse 300 is indicated) favors the first epeisodion, sc. in every extant Sophoclean tragedy verse 300 occurs within the first epeisodion. Lobel assigns col. ii. 4-17 to Inachus. Because Inachus did not witness the metamorphosis and so could not tell the chorus of it, these lines are better assigned to a Messenger from the palace. It is true that the coryphaeus addressed his remarks to Inachus (σὰ) and that Inachus does not answer. But this is spirited, indeed highly excited, dialogue and it is effective for the distraught servant to burst in and answer for his master. Compare *Tr.* 429 ff. where a highly excited Messenger answers a question directed to his Queen. In Euripides' *Heracles* Megara replies (534-537) for Amphytrion. At vv. 18ff. the chorus respond in lyric metre. It may be a short kommos in which Inachus shares.<sup>31</sup> Here the new fragment ends. Lobel rightly connects fragment 290P with col. ii. 23. Inachus and the Messenger are not on stage during *PTebt* 692. Therefore, they must

<sup>31</sup> Lobel remarks (p. 59): ". . . it is not far-fetched to infer that in Sophocles' version of the story (which would have resembled that of Apollodorus . . .) Zeus visited Io both to beget Epaphus and to metamorphose her into a cow . . ." If this means that the conception of Epaphus and the metamorphosis of Io occurred in the same visit, I can not agree. The metamorphosis resulted from a previous affair which Hera must have discovered. If Hermes effects the change, there is no problem. It is dangerous to reconstruct Sophocles from Apollodorus who may be following the Hesiodic *Aegmios* which treated the Io-Saga (see Schmid-Stählin, I. 1 p. 287).

exit into the palace. A motivation would not be difficult, e.g. to investigate further the plight of Io and perhaps to help her.

The compressed narration of the metamorphosis (vv. 296-309 of the original tragedy) is best explained as due to the need to include much further action in the epeisodion. The audience must be given the motivation for the change. They can have no idea who the *xenos* is nor know why the virtuous Io has been so vilely treated. One should speculate upon the motivation of Zeus in effecting the metamorphosis. Since he loved the princess and had further shown his pleasure in her by bringing prosperity to Argos, we can not suppose that he turned her into a heifer in wrath. His intentions must have been charitable however the persons involved might interpret the results. The only imaginable reason would be to protect Io from the wrath of the proverbially and justifiably jealous Hera. Only one character among the known *dramatis personae* could inform the audience of these matters. This is Hermes, the lackey of Zeus, the very person who effected the metamorphosis. He enters from the palace shortly after the exit of Inachus and Messenger.<sup>32</sup> He had escaped detection within the palace through the use of the Hades-Cap, which like the ring of Gyges makes its wearer invisible. He is still wearing this in *PTebt* 692 Col. ii 4.<sup>33</sup> At the start of the papyrus, if indeed it is from the Sophoclean *Inachus*,<sup>34</sup> Hermes has not yet informed the chorus of the state of affairs. They are still in confusion, running about the orchestra in search of the stranger. For a similar situation compare the sailors searching for Ajax in *Ajax* 866ff. Hermes

<sup>32</sup> For a time, therefore, the stage is empty and the audience see only the chorus in the orchestra. For the technique compare A. *Ag.* 1331-1372. Cassandra exits into the palace at 1330. The stage is empty until the entrance of the protagonist at 1372, and there is no stasimon.

<sup>33</sup> This was first seen by Hunt and Smyly, *op. cit.*, 11. For the stage device in Sophoclean tragedy of a character visible to the audience while invisible to the other characters compare S. *Aj.* 69ff., 85f. where Athene makes Odysseus invisible to the protagonist.

<sup>34</sup> The Sophoclean attribution is not unanimous see e.g. Alfred Körte, *APF* 11 (1935), 252-257, who concludes (p. 257): "Ob Sophokles der Dichter war, werden hoffentlich weitere Untersuchungen ermitteln."

identifies himself as "The messenger of the loves of Zeus, a great courier."<sup>35</sup> The chorus do not believe him (they quite obviously would consider him a foreign charlatan and a knave) and reply "One might readily guess from your sounds that you are Hermes himself who has turned me back hither."<sup>36</sup> The dialogue is couched in trochaic tetrameters, a metre occasionally used by Sophocles in his tragedies.<sup>37</sup> There are none in *Ichneutae*. Hermes mischievously but in the manner of Sophoclean stichomythia (he can not neglect an opportunity to tease the old men) picks up their verb with *ἔοικας*. "I guess that in a moment you will set out on another useless task." The remarks that follow are perfectly understandable if one recalls the situation. Hermes is invisible to the chorus, who are frantically hunting a magician whose incorporeal voice they hear in their midst and who very likely (col. iii. 5-7) even touches them. They associate the voice with the villainous foreigner of the prologue and do not believe that he is the messenger of Zeus. The scene is good fun. But this does not *prove* it to be satyric. There is no more levity here than in the first Phylax scene of *Antigone*, the Lichas-Old Man encounter in *Trachiniae*, or the hurling of the chamber pot in *Fellow Banqueters* (frg. 565P). Sophocles must have had a reason for inserting a comic sequence. One can only conjecture. Perhaps it was relief from the horror of the metamorphosis, a desire to mitigate its effect upon the audience. The spectators must realize that Zeus is not a villain and acted as he did to protect, not punish, Io. What better way to create such an atmosphere than to have the agent of the metamorphosis himself make so light of it that he can

<sup>35</sup> *Courier* translates *πρόχων*, *vox Aeschylea*, see *Pr.* 941 where Prometheus applies the noun to Hermes.

<sup>36</sup> This translates col. ii. 6-8. The colloquial English of Hunt and Smyly is not justified. *μου* should be retained with the *editio princeps*. Pfeiffer, supporting a satyr thesis, altered to *μοι*. Pfeiffer's *μοι* was then put into the text by Page who does not list the MS *μου* in his apparatus.

<sup>37</sup> Examples are collected in Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 p. 481 n. 1. The presence of colloquialisms (see Hunt and Smyly, *op. cit.*, 11) does not rule out a tragedy: see P. T. Stevens, "Colloquial Expressions in Aeschylus and Sophocles," *CQ* 39 (1945), 95-105.



tease the old men who fret over it? Also there is need to play down, from a dramatic point of view, the metamorphosis. So drastic a device can easily run away with the play; and, as Professor Schmid reminds us,<sup>38</sup> the play is called *Inachus* and not *Io*. The action centered about Inachus and not his daughter. The fate of the daughter at the hands of Zeus must be played down and this is done by making the audience laugh.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4. FIRST STASIMON

It is impossible to establish the contents of this song. The praise of Zeus suggests itself. No fragments can be specifically attributed to this stasimon.

#### 5. SECOND EPEISODION

Hermes earlier revealed the attitude of Zeus. It is time to hear Hera's side. The following action easily fits here. A female, Iris, enters (frg. 272P) to present the female side. She is a perfect foil to Hermes. Hera evidently capitalizes on Io's bovine shape and forces her to wander far from her native Argos. An instigator is provided for the wandering. This is Argos (surely Sophocles would pun the name)<sup>40</sup> who now enters (frg. 281P) with Io as heifer.<sup>41</sup> The Oxyrhynchus fragment proves that the metamorphosis was complete<sup>42</sup> so

<sup>38</sup> Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 p. 435.

<sup>39</sup> The choice of a heifer's shape is suitable for a river's daughter; for rivers habitually assumed bovine forms: see S. Tr. 11 with Jebb *ad loc.*

<sup>40</sup> For the *figura etymologica*, here it would be Argos as realm and guardian, in tragic poetry see Kamerbeek on S. Aj. 430, Dodds on E. Ba. 367, and Platnauer on E. IT 32. On the punning on Oedipus in OT see Bernard M. W. Knox, *Oedipus at Thebes* (London and New Haven, 1957), 182-184 with notes. Aeschylus approved a pun: see Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 p. 297 n. 2 for examples.

<sup>41</sup> Argos would enter wearing the special many-eyed Argos-Mask: see Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, 193. Accius wrote an *Io* of which one line survives (frg. 386 Klotz): "Custodem adsiduum Ioni adposuit virgini." Hera is setting Argos to guard Io. The line would easily fit into the action of *Inachus* which was perhaps Accius' source.

<sup>42</sup> See POxy 2369. frg. 1. col. ii. 12ff. with Lobel's commentary.

that the actor does not just enter with a cow mask but as a heifer. Perhaps an animal was used and not an actor; for there is no evidence that Io was articulate after the metamorphosis. In *Aegeus* Sophocles may have brought the Marathonian bull on stage<sup>43</sup> and his handling of the heifer would be parallel. The technique was used in old comedy as well. In *Dionysalexander* Cratinus brought Dionysus on stage in the form of a ram.<sup>44</sup> Such use of an animal in the Greek theatre is not alarming. A horse must have drawn Agamemnon's chariot into the orchestra at Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 782ff. Only in *Inachus* the animal is absorbed more closely into the action. Whether or not *Inachus* is present the fragment does not say. It is doubtful, however, that the dramatist would keep his protagonist off-stage through a whole episode.

## 6. SECOND STASIMON

It is impossible to specify a subject for this ode. The action of the scene that immediately precedes affords a wealth of possibilities for trite moralizing.<sup>45</sup>

## 7. THIRD EPEISODION

Wilamowitz cogently argues from frgg. 278, 284, and 286P that during the action Hera reduced the realm to poverty.<sup>46</sup> The lyric metre of these fragments would put them in a choral utterance, specifically the stasimon that followed the epeisodion which narrated the famine. The fragments of dialogue, 276, 285, 289, and 293P, should be assigned to the narration of the famine or plague. The plague

<sup>43</sup> See frg. 25P with commentary (vol. 1, p. 21).

<sup>44</sup> See *POxy* 663 and frg. 43 Edmonds, 36-37.

<sup>45</sup> On the general subject of the relation of choral odes to the action see the useful and sensitive monograph of G. M. Kirkwood, "The Dramatic Role of the Chorus in Sophocles," *Phoenix*, 8 (1954), 1-22; repr. *id.*, *A Study of Sophoclean Drama* (Cornell, 1958), 181-214.

<sup>46</sup> Wilamowitz, *Einleitung*, 88 n. 53.

would have been inflicted on Argos during the singing of the second stasimon. The time factor is no problem.<sup>47</sup> The plague would be narrated in the following epeisodion and described in lyric measures in the third stasimon. Such a reconstruction involves the least structural difficulties. The progress of the action is not difficult to surmise. Plagues occur in ancient fiction (e.g. OT 1ff. from *Iliad* 1) when the author wishes to reveal the wrath of a deity. Here, as Wilamowitz saw, the divinity most likely to have been enraged is Hera. The protagonist, as in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, would be the instigator of the divine wrath. There would be occasion for Inachus to anger the goddess. She had sent Argos (nothing is ever said of the gadfly) to lead his daughter away. We can readily imagine that in protesting the injustice of the act Inachus blasphemed Hera. The situation is similar to *Bacchae* where an irate king blasphemes a deity whose subsequent wrath motivates the remaining action. Inachus' tragic dilemma is obvious. He was a pious and prosperous ruler beloved of his subjects, who had hospitably received Zeus (see frg. 274P) and given his daughter to him only to feel, through no fault of his own, the effects of the jealousy of Hera.<sup>48</sup> The actual blasphemy would have occurred in the second epeisodion.<sup>49</sup>

### 8. THIRD STASIMON

The lyric fragments associated by Wilamowitz with the wrath of Hera (278, 284, 286P) fit here. Frg. 278P contrasts the bliss of the past (see Schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 531) with present

<sup>47</sup> See Roy C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama*<sup>8</sup> (Chicago, 1929), 252.

<sup>48</sup> For the tradition of his grief see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1. 583-585.

<sup>49</sup> Frg. 276P *σπορὰ κριθῶν*, *storage-pits* of grain (cf. New England's *root-cellar*s) would need the context "even the storage-pits of grain are empty now." The baleful implications of frg. 289P, "with a dark storm," are obvious, whether an actual storm sent by the goddess or in metaphorical language the plague itself. The fox of frg. 293P may allude to a scavenger connected with the famine, and the oath by flowing springs (frg. 285P) may reflect a famine originating in drought and dried up rivers. These latter two suggestions were made to me by James A. Coulter of Harvard University.

evil. Wilamowitz ingeniously refers frg. 284P to the parched condition of Inachus as a result of Hera's wrath. "Inachos selbst ward fast zu einer trocknen mumie." The highly artificial choric diction of frg. 286P which may be rendered "everything is laden with spiderwebs of weavers," is a reference to the desolation in the land.<sup>50</sup>

## 9. EXODOS

The requirements of the exodos are first to supply a suitable climax and close to the drama sufficient to offset the metamorphosis and the purely theatrical stroke of bringing the heifer on stage. Also the playwright must vindicate his protagonist. The latter would be especially important, apart from the demands of the drama itself, if the play were intentionally composed as a vehicle of pro-Argive propaganda.

The dramaturgical problem is similar to that which Sophocles faced in the exodus of *Ajax*, viz. the need to provide an ending strong enough to survive an important crisis earlier in the action. He builds up tension to a pitch, cuts it, and then must rebuild it again.<sup>51</sup> In *Ajax* the wordy debate over the burial can only be anticlimactic to the suicide. Waldock is entirely right that the tension goes flat after verse 865.<sup>52</sup> Death-scenes that do not coincide with the last act are *always* a risk and must either be early enough to have their effect diminished by the end *or* be offset by a second death-scene of a more important character at the end. Shakespeare realized this in his handling of Gaunt in *Richard II*, where both these expedencies are combined. In *Ajax* Sophocles partially redeems himself, however, because he ends the play with the stage-business of removing the corpse. The solemn exit of the cortège with the bier in production can

<sup>50</sup> See Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, "spinneweben füllten die leeren scheuern."

<sup>51</sup> Sophocles enjoyed this sort of challenge. Compare the exit of Iocaste at OT 1072 which he daringly inserted only some 100 lines before the great exit of Oedipus.

<sup>52</sup> A. J. A. Waldock, *Sophocles the Dramatist* (Cambridge, 1951), 51.



make a powerful ending but it can never *fully* counteract the suicide.<sup>53</sup>

In *Inachus* the metamorphosis, followed by the entrance of the heifer, posed the same problem as the suicide in *Ajax*. We can never know how Sophocles solved it. What follows is merely a suggestion not incompatible with the slender remains of the play. Sophocles may have written a trial scene. Tradition already associated the king with courts.<sup>54</sup> Other dramas show that Sophocles was much interested in the judiciary and realized its dramatic potential.<sup>55</sup> Sophocles had a great model. Aeschylus had already established the tradition of ending a play with a trial scene and had proved its dramatic effectiveness in both the *Oresteia* and the Danaid Trilogy.<sup>56</sup> Sophocles may well have himself already ended a play with a trial-scene in *Locrian Ajax*.<sup>57</sup> A trial-scene is always filled with the opportunity for high tension and in a medium familiar to many of the audience. Shakespeare realized this and ended *Merchant* with a splendid one and so did Shaw in *St. Joan*.

The situation in *Inachus* is ripe for a trial-scene. Was *Inachus* justified in his criticism of the goddess and is he therefore being unjustly treated? On the analogy of *Eumenides*,

<sup>53</sup> The early death of Alcestis gave Euripides the same problem. Like *Ajax* he had a suicide, cortège, and epiparodos. Euripides however was more successful. He set the death earlier in the action and played an ace. For if there is one situation that can counteract a death-scene, it is a resurrection-scene and that is precisely what Euripides gives us when he brings his heroine back from the tomb.

<sup>54</sup> See Englemann in Roscher, *MythLex*, II, 1. 126. 20ff. and H. J. Rose, *HGM*,<sup>4</sup> 68-69.

<sup>55</sup> The defense of Oedipus in *OC* is a defense of involuntary homicide. The lost *Larisaioi* concerned a man who slew another accidentally with a wild throw of the discus. This is just the subject of Antiphon's second tetralogy (cf. Aristot. *EN* 5. 8. 1135B 11ff.). For the legal aspect of *OT* see now the meticulous study of Knox, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-98 with notes 114-189 (pp. 223-232). Even the speech of Sophocles' characters is occasionally noticeably influenced by judicial oratory: see the excellent material collected by Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 p. 316 n. 1.

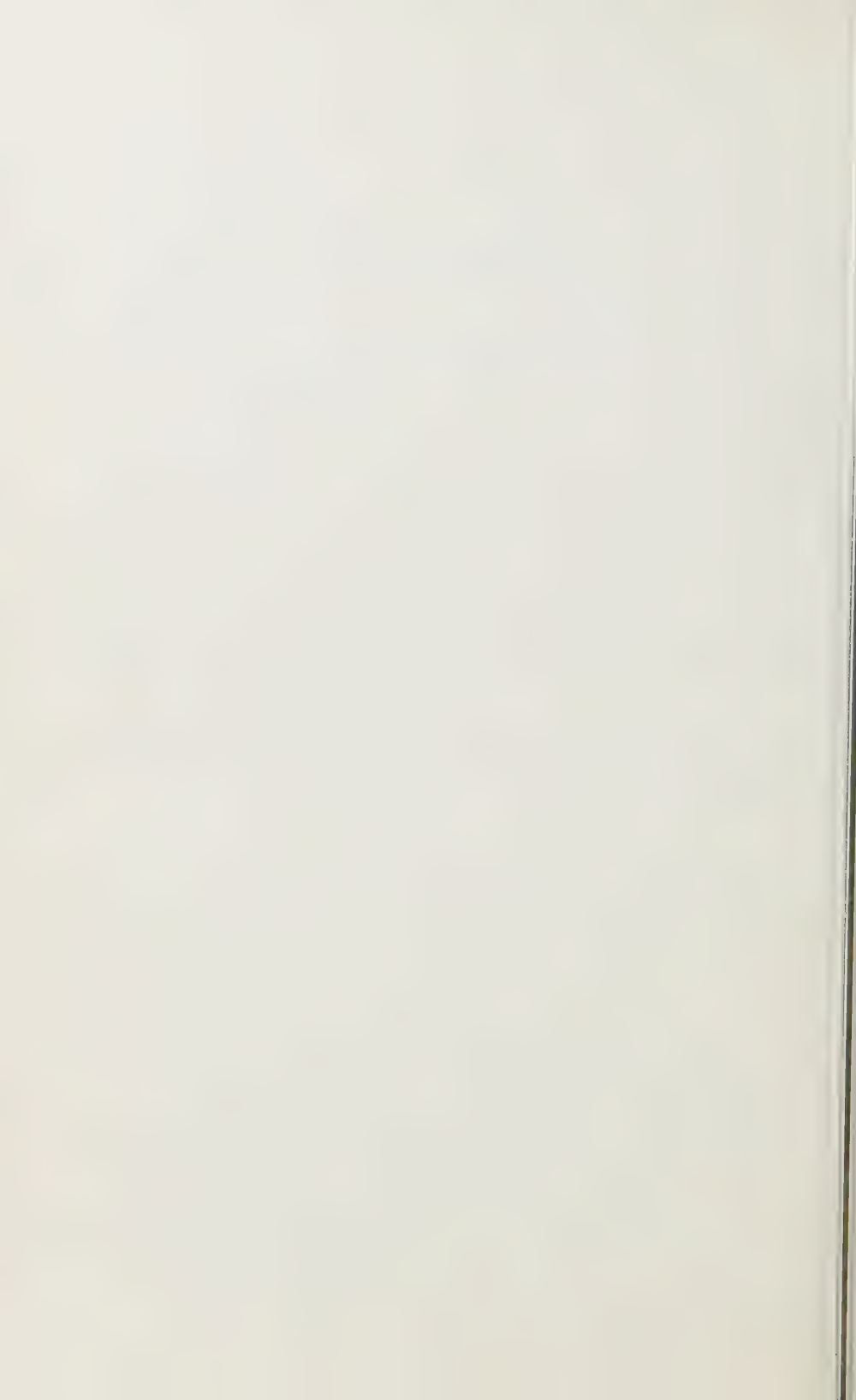
<sup>56</sup> The best commentary on the trial in *Eumenides* is still Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles u. Athen*, 2, 329ff. For the trial of Hypermnestra see Robertson, *CR* 38 (1924) 51ff. See further Schmid-Stählin, I. 2 p. 255.

<sup>57</sup> See Pearson, *Fragments*, vol. 1, 9-10.

the elders of Argos would be the jurors; Iris, the prosecutor; Hermes, the attorney for the defense; and Inachus, the defendant. Inachus would be acquitted. A speech by Hermes (compare Athene in *Eumenides*) would follow, commending what had happened and placating Inachus by foretelling the glorious future of Io.

Such a conclusion would provide a powerful vindication of the protagonist and further be strong enough to unify the play and relegate the Argos-Io sequence to its proper dimension (it was included first because it was good theatre and next because it was a way of vividly impressing upon the audience the justification that Inachus had in blaspheming the goddess). Here also is why the play was entitled *Inachus* and not *Io*. Two fragments suggest that a trial was included within the action of *Inachus*. They are of too technical and prosaic a nature to be the stuff of similes or of metaphors. They are rendered: "the dicast who votes with a bean" (frg. 288P) and "the funnel-shaped top of the voting urn" (frg. 295P).<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> The latter translation is from *LSJ* s.v. κημός II, 2. Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, considered *Inachus* to be a substitute for a satyr play in the same way that *Alcestis* was. The contention can never be proved nor refuted.



# A Byzantine Looks at The Renaissance

The Attitude of Michael Apostolis  
Toward the Rise of Italy  
To Cultural Eminence

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THAT WESTERN THOUGHT OF THE RENAISSANCE was molded to a considerable degree by Greek learning is well known. The efforts of Italian statesmen such as Lorenzo de' Medici and Popes Nicholas V and Leo X to amass libraries of Greek manuscripts, the warm reception accorded to many Greek refugee-teachers, and the establishment of numerous professorial chairs of Greek in leading universities — all attest to a vital interest in the assimilation of Greek culture on the part of Western Europe during the Quattrocento and Cinquecento.

A number of contemporary Western humanists have left us indications of their high esteem for Greek letters,<sup>1</sup> and some of these views have been woven into modern studies on

<sup>1</sup> To cite only one example, a typical statement of the great Erasmus, who, in a letter to one of his patrons, Anthony of Bergen, Abbot of St. Bertin, says: "We have in Latin at best some small brooks and turbid pools, while the Greeks have the purest fountains and rivers flowing with gold." Latin original in P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami*, 1 (Oxford, 1906), epistle 149; and for translation see P. Smith, *Erasmus* (New York-London, 1923), 46, and especially note 6 for similar expressions of Erasmus.



the development of Renaissance learning. Almost no effort, on the other hand, has been made by scholars to ascertain the attitude toward the rise of Italian culture of Byzantine intellectuals, either of those who migrated to the West or those who remained in the East. True, the sentiments of certain individual Greeks regarding the conditions of life they experienced in the West (for instance, of Marcus Musurus in Carpi, near Venice)<sup>2</sup> have been made known. And, conversely, we have a fairly adequate idea of the attitude of Western humanists and patrons toward the various emigré Greek scholars in their employ. We know, for example, that in the early stages the Westerners, mindful of their need for adequate instruction, showed great respect for Greeks teaching among them. But, as increasing numbers of near-destitute refugees streamed westward after Constantinople's fall in 1453, the Westerners began to look more critically upon these men and even to formulate an opinion of many as parasites.<sup>3</sup> Ultimately some Italians, with no little satisfaction, came to believe that their mastery of Greek even surpassed that of their Byzantine teachers.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the progressive decline in Western regard for individual Byzantines, the culture of ancient Greece continued to hold its exalted position in Western eyes. But what was the attitude, meantime, of the Byzantines themselves toward the developing talents of the West and especially of Italy, which was displacing Byzantium in the cultural leadership of Europe?

<sup>2</sup> See A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise* (Paris, 1875), 501-507 for Greek text of a letter of Musurus and 30-36 for French translation. Also on another famous Greek, Janus Lascaris, see B. Knös, *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme: Janus Lascaris et la tradition greco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français* (Paris-Upsala, 1945), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> See in A. Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1918), Guillaume Budé's impressions of the Greek George Hermonymus, then teaching in Paris.

<sup>4</sup> To cite one example, note the remarks of the Florentine Angelo Poliziano on the Italian mastery of Greek, as quoted in G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo: Manuele Crisolora* (Florence, 1941), esp. 6. Poliziano says that "Athens . . . has migrated with all its culture and wisdom to the banks of the Arno."

It is in the hope of casting some light on this question and, at the same time, of making a small contribution to the historiography of the Renaissance that we adduce here a neglected discourse of Michael Apostolis of Crete. Born c. 1422 in Constantinople and, after its fall (with the exception of several trips to Italy) living his remaining years in the Venetian-held island of Crete, Michael is one of numerous learned Byzantines who had dreams of establishing themselves in Italy in lucrative professorships of Greek.<sup>5</sup> Apostolis' ambition, however, was never realized and this fact must be borne in mind when one analyzes his assessment of Western cultural accomplishments.

The speech under consideration was probably composed in Crete, sometime after 1453, in response to an assertion (made presumably by an ecclesiastic, possibly a Greek Uniate) of the superiority of the Western view over the Greek regarding the first birth of Christ (i.e., the eternal generation of the Son in the Trinity).

The title of the discourse, "Michael Apostolis to those who claim that the Westerners are superior to the Easterners with respect to the whole of philosophy and that they [the Westerners] explain perfectly the first birth of Christ and the procession of the Holy Spirit,"<sup>6</sup> is somewhat misleading. Virtually nothing is said about the procession of the Holy Spirit, the emphasis being placed on the problem of the first birth of Christ. Apostolis' discussion of this question leads to his conclusion, in agreement with the Greek church fathers, that the problem cannot be satisfactorily understood by the human

<sup>5</sup> On the life of Apostolis (or Apostolios) see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs au XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1 (1885), LVIII-LXX and 2 (1885), 233-259. Also S. Salaville's brief section in *Dict. hist. geog. eccl.*, 3 (Paris, 1924), cols. 1030-1035. For Apostolis' correspondence and additional comments on his life see H. Noiret, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis* (Paris, 1889); G. Hyperides, *Μιχαήλου Ἀποστόλη πονήματα τρία* (Smyrna, 1876); and A. Demetracopoulos, *Ἑθνικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον Βρεττοῦ* (1870), 359-367. My forthcoming book on Greco-Byzantine learning and its transmission to Western Europe during the later Middle Ages and Renaissance will include a discussion of Apostolis' significance.

<sup>6</sup> The entire discourse is published in the original Greek by B. Laourdas, under the title "Μιχαήλ Ἀποστόλη Λόγος περὶ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Εὐρώπης," *Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 19 (Athens, 1949), 235-244.

mind. With this as a point of departure he then proceeds, in the second part of his discourse,<sup>7</sup> to compare the relative merits of Greek and Western [i.e., Italian] cultural attainments. It is this latter section which is pertinent for us here and which we now quote in its entirety:

" . . . Did you understand therefore [on the basis of the first section] how great a difference there is between the Greek and the European [Western] fathers in theology and in the other branches of philosophy?<sup>8</sup> Would you not make obeisance before the Easterners who have discovered the beauty of letters and of philosophy itself? Who among the Europeans is wiser than Socrates, Timaeus, and Pythagoras? Who among the Westerners is equal to Plato and Aristotle and Zeno; who equal to Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon? Who can rival Antiphon, Hyperides, and Demosthenes? Who can be compared with Orpheus, Homer, and Stesichorus in poetry; who with Plotinus, Proclus, and Porphyry; with Arius, Origen, and Eusebius, men [i.e., heretics] who have split the seam of Christ's garment? Who can be compared with Cyril, Gregory, and Basil; who, in the field of grammar, can equal or approach Herodian, Apollonius, and Trypho?

I think you might say Cicero, the savant, and the poet Vergil. But as the saying goes, 'Not even Hercules can vanquish two men!' Much less two [Westerners] in comparison with two thousand men [of the East]. 'But we [Westerners],' you may say, 'have more than two thousand.' I agree completely and I have even anticipated such an answer. But do you not understand that Athens alone of all Greece was able to give birth to more philosophers than all Italy had or has? Now, however, I admit, we are the remnants of the Greeks, a view with which you of course agree willingly.

You Italians of the present age are the foremost (τὰ πρῶτα) of the Italians. I say that you are the foremost and that we are the remnants (τὰ λείψανα) because, in the cycle of civilization, which has a beginning, a middle, and an end, we are in the closing

<sup>7</sup> The first section of the discourse, though irrelevant for the purpose of this article, is very interesting because of Michael's mention of, and comments on, the philosophy of a certain Scotus (evidently he refers here to the work *De divisione naturae* of the Ninth Century Western theologian, John Scotus Erigena, rather than to the late Thirteenth Century, Duns Scotus). On the basis of the Greek church fathers and also of Aristotle, Apostolis, though a Uniate, condemns Scotus' theological position on the question of Christ's first birth. For text see Laourdas, *op. cit.*, 239-243.

<sup>8</sup> The translation printed here is my own. It is, to my knowledge, the first rendering into English.

stage of our culture, while you are in the first phase. And we are enslaved whereas you are free. Yet though we are in such a condition, one can observe, now as well as in the past, that throughout all Italy many Greeks are teaching Latin to Westerners. No one, however, has ever seen or heard a Westerner teaching Greek in Greece. And even if anyone can or should desire to do so it would be impossible, as the ruler of the Turks [text = Huns] has devoured all Greece and is now already seeking to enslave Europe.

May he be destroyed by God who has permitted him to become so strong and sated with our blood. O Christ-Emperor, stop him, stay his violence and deflect his knife and spear. Have pity on us, be merciful, reconcile yourself with us and watch over us who are again like the lost drachma (τὴν ἀπολλυμένην πάλιν δραχμήν).<sup>9</sup> Recall our scattered race so downtrodden and humble. Grant to your servants of the West concord, strength, and force of will, zeal and mercy. Remove from us the bitter executioner and enemy; grant harmony to all who bear the name of Christ even if this hitherto has been impossible. But now let them [the Christians] enjoy concord because of the Turks who commit evil acts without ceasing and tread upon your holy vessels, insulting the pure faith and the church itself, to which you have promised, 'Nor can the gates of Hell prevail over the Church.'<sup>10</sup> Yours is the will when you will, yours the strength when the time is worthy, yours the honor, glory, and strength throughout the centuries."<sup>11</sup>

It is evident from the foregoing that though Apostolis never relinquished his belief in the cultural superiority of the Greeks, he is, at the same time, conscious of living at an important turning point in history. He admits, however reluctantly (and of course 1453 is persistent in his thoughts), that the Byzantines are now only "the remnants of the Greeks" (τὰ λείψανα τῶν Ἑλλήνων)<sup>12</sup> and that the Italians, though yet inferior to the ancients, herald the dawn of a new age. Note his reference to the beginning, middle, and end of the historical cycle and the relative positions of the Greeks and Italians in this process. For Apostolis there is evidently nothing intrinsically deficient in the Greek culture which Byzantium had sought to preserve intact for over a millenium.

<sup>9</sup> Luke 15. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Matthew 16. 18-19.

<sup>11</sup> Doubtless, phrases taken from the Greek ecclesiastical tradition.

<sup>12</sup> See text in Laourdas edition, *op. cit.*, 243, line 25.



Indeed, in keeping with the traditional Byzantine belief in the inability of subsequent generations to improve upon the civilization of ancient Greece (for which view Byzantine culture has been accused, by those who fail adequately to understand it, of lacking an "idea of progress")<sup>13</sup> Apostolis, in this treatise, seems to ascribe the collapse of the Byzantine state and culture not to any internal lack of viability but rather to the Turkish domination.

Thus in a final section he invokes the aid of God to deliver the Greek East from the bondage of the barbarian Turk. This concluding, moving part of the speech, so different in tone from the more pedestrian opening sentences and the redundancies characteristic of most of his other writings, may be looked upon as an addition to the Fifteenth Century literature on *concordia mundi*,<sup>14</sup> an appeal to a higher unity of all Christendom, Western as well as Eastern, without regard to political or religious differences.

The views expressed in the speech are, to be sure, those of a single individual—and one embittered over his failure to win scholarly recognition from the Italians.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, because some of the ideas incorporated are not uncommon to other Byzantines of the period, the discourse can probably be considered as a typical expression of the attitude of at least one important group of late Fifteenth Century Greek intellectuals toward the rising cultural eminence of Italy *vis-à-vis* the perishing but still proud civilization of the Byzantine world.

<sup>13</sup> On this see the recent, enlightening remarks of G. Downey, "The Byzantine Church and the Presentness of the Past," *Theology Today*, 15 (1958), esp. 93–98: "The view of the custodial function [of Byzantine culture] has not always been understood. This was no static situation, in which something created in the past was kept alive artificially . . . [Preserving the classics] was not a deadening process, but the practice of a technique of education which had been tried for a long time and was generally acknowledged to be what was needed . . ." Cf. also R. Tsanoff, "Ancient Classical Alternatives and Approaches to the Idea of Progress," *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, 1 (San Antonio, 1958), 81ff.

<sup>14</sup> For a recent work discussing various aspects of this theme see W. J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957), esp. 64ff.

<sup>15</sup> See Noiret, *Lettres de Michel Apostolis*, epistles 27 and 92 (bis); and Legrand, *Bibl. Hell.*, 2, epistle 5, all of which emphasize Apostolis' desire to emigrate to the West and find a teaching position there.

# Three Hoards of Byzantine Bronze Coins

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IN 1926 A MONEY-CHANGER IN THE PIRAEUS had a lot of 11 scyphate bronze coins whose condition and hard green patina showed that they all belonged together. Since no others like them turned up in the vicinity they may be presumed to have constituted a small hoard. Where they had come from the dealer neither knew nor cared, so that we can hardly use them as proof of the circulation of these types in Greece. They do, however, call attention to a difference between Athens and Corinth which is interesting. The coins are as follows:

MANUEL I 1143-1180

1-2 Christ bearded seated on throne without back. Weakly struck and obscure.

Rev. No inscription visible. On l. Manuel holding in r. short labarum, in l. globus cruciger. On r. Virgin crowning him.

*Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*  
(cited as *BMC*) 575f. Type 11, 40-51. Pl. LXX, 4

## ISAAC II 1185–1195

## 3 The Virgin seated. Almost obliterated.

Rev. To r. ΔΕC/Π/T/HC. Double struck: a second inscription. Isaac standing holding in r. cross, in l. anexikakia.<sup>1</sup> Pl. 8, fig. 1

BMC 592f. Type 4, 19–31. Pl. XXII, 5, 6

## ALEXIOUS III 1195–1203

## 4–5 +KERO HΘEI Bust of Christ beardless. To l. and r. IC XC

Rev. To r. ΤΩ. On l. Alexius holding in r. labarum. On r. St. Constantine holding in l. labarum. They hold globus cr. between them. Pl. 8, fig. 2, 3.

BMC 603f. Type 4, 20–36. Pl. LXXIII, 8–12

The two legible letters of the reverse inscription suggest that these pieces belong to BMC variety 2 which has the name Comnenus.

## THEODORE I LASCARIS 1204–1222

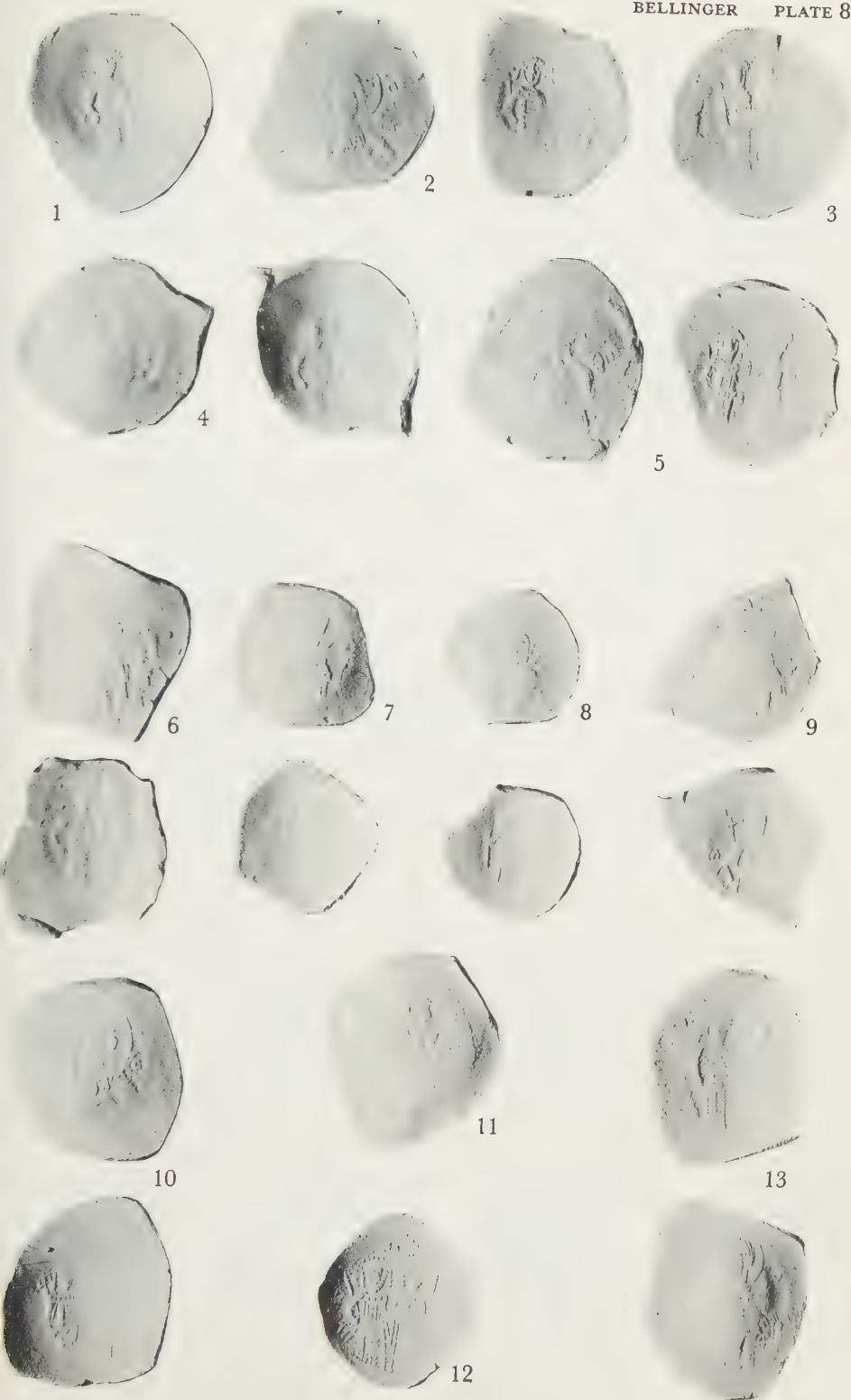
## 6–11 M-P to l. ΘV to r. The Virgin enthroned holding the infant Christ.

Rev. ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC to l. ΘΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC to r. Theodore and St. Theodore standing facing. The emperor holds labarum in r., the Saint holds spear in l. They hold patriarchal cross between them. Pl. 8, fig. 4, 5

*Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards in the British Museum, 207–209, 4–11, Pl. XXVIII, 6–XXIX, 2.*

All of these types are well known and their association is one of many instances of the continuity of coinage after the taking of Constantinople in 1204 which is somewhat obscured by our habit of treating the Empire of Nicaea as if it were a

<sup>1</sup> This object, generally called “mappa,” “volumen,” or “sword in sheath” in the catalogues, is a little sack of silk filled with dust from the tombs to symbolize mortality, which is one of the ceremonial objects pertaining to the emperor. Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *Livres des Cérémonies*, ed. Vogt, Vol. 1 (text) Book I, Chap. 1, p. 20, line 11; (commentary) 71f.







ISTANBUL HOARD

thing apart. In Asia the coins of Theodore circulated with those of his predecessors and it need occasion no surprise to find them in the same little hoard.

What does provoke thought is to see how much better this hoard acquired at the Piraeus agrees with the evidence from Corinth than it does with that from Athens. Of this type of Manuel there are 6 specimens published from the excavations at Corinth<sup>2</sup> but none from those at Athens.<sup>3</sup> This may not seem a difference worth noting, but it is only a detail of a striking picture if viewed as a whole. From Corinth there are 1509 coins of Manuel (all bronze) of which 299 are scyphate. Athens, on the other hand, has the staggering total of 3775 coins of Manuel (all bronze except one) of which only 16 are scyphate! These are certainly figures too large to be ignored. Six types are represented:

- 1 Christ seated/Manuel crowned by the Virgin. *BMC* Type 11
- 2 Similar/Manuel with cross and globus. *BMC* Type 12
- 3 Virgin seated/ Manuel with labarum and anexikakia. *BMC* Type 13, p. 577, 58
- 4 Similar/ Manuel with labarum and globus. *BMC* Type 13, p. 577, 56f.
- 5 Christ seated/ Manuel with anexikakia and globus. Sabatier II, 209, 14
- 6 Bust of Christ/ Similar. Sabatier II, 210, 18

The distribution between them is very uneven:

	CORINTH	ATHENS
1	6	
2	6	
3	184	
4	15	
(3 or 4)	43	14
5	30	1
6		1

<sup>2</sup> Katherine M. Edwards, *Corinth Vol. VI The Coins* (Cambridge, 1933).

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora Vol. II The Coins* (Princeton, 1954).

Figures such as these invite investigation of the other emperors included in this hoard to see whether the difference between the two cities is maintained. Here, in brief, is the record of the scyphate bronze.

#### ANDRONICUS

None from either excavation.

#### ISAAC II

Four types:

- 1 Virgin seated/ Isaac and St. Michael. Sabatier II, 223, 3
- 2 Similar/ Isaac and St. George. *BMC* Type 3
- 3 Similar/ Isaac with cross and anexikakia. *BMC* Type 4
- 4 Christ seated/ Similar. *BMC* Type 5

Distribution:

	CORINTH	ATHENS
1		1
2		3
3	1	4
4		1

#### ALEXIUS III

Three types:

- 1 Bust of Christ/ Alexius and St. Constantine. *BMC* Type 4
- 2 Christ seated/ Similar. *Corinth* 147, 157
- 3 Virgin seated/ Alexius enthroned. *Corinth* 147, 158

Distribution:

	CORINTH	ATHENS
1	19	3
2	4	
3	4	

#### THEODORE I

One type. Distribution:

CORINTH	ATHENS
9	1

Though not so remarkable as the figures for Manuel, these later comparisons do emphasize the fact that 12th and 13th century bronze coins occur with varying frequencies in different localities.<sup>4</sup> This, in turn, suggests that different bronze types may have been struck in different places in spite of the common assumption to the contrary.<sup>5</sup> Considering the enormous number of coins issued, that assumption hardly seems reasonable, but there will need to be a great deal of material assembled before we are in a position to amend it. As a beginning of the gathering of such material, I offer evidence from two more hoards of the same period.

In 1933 a hoard of several hundred scyphate bronzes turned up in Athens. Unfortunately it was dispersed without accurate record of its whole contents so that I can only present specimens known to have belonged to it without any attempt at completeness.

#### MANUEL I 1143-1180

##### 1-3 Christ bearded seated

Rev. Manuel with short labarum and globus cr. being crowned by the Virgin.<sup>6</sup> Pl. 8, fig. 6

*BMC* 575f. Type 11

##### 4-6 The Virgin seated

Rev. Manuel with long labarum and anexikakia

*BMC* 576f. Type 13

##### 7-17 Similar types

Pl. 8, figs. 7,8

The remarkable thing about these pieces is that they are very small, as may be seen on the plate.

<sup>4</sup> I deal here only with the scyphate types, but the same is true of the flat bronzes.

<sup>5</sup> *BMC* p. xcix "From the sole reign of Constantine VIII (A.D. 1025) onwards, all coins seem to have emanated from the capital."

<sup>6</sup> I will make no attempt to record the inscriptions of this hoard except where they are critical. As usual on such coins they are always incomplete and generally illegible.



## ISAAC II 1185-1195

## 18 The Virgin seated on throne with back

Rev. Isaac with cross and anexikakia Pl. 8, fig. 9  
*BMC* 592f. Type 4

## ALEXIUS III 1195-1203

## 19 Bust of youthful Christ. Κ[Ε]ΡΟ to l., ΗΘ[Ε]Ι to r.

Rev. Alexius with short labarum and St. Constantine, nimbate, with short labarum holding globus cr. between them. To r. ΚΤΩΜ ? Pl. 8, fig. 10  
*BMC* 603f. Type 4, Variety 2

The incomplete and garbled inscription seems to be part of the name Comnenus.

## 20, 21 Similar without inscription

Rev. Similar. No visible inscription. Pl. 8, figs. 11, 12  
 These are of rough and peculiar style.

## THEODORE I OF NICAIA 1204-1222

## 22-24 The Virgin seated on throne without back.

Rev. Theodore with short labarum and St. Theodore with spear holding patriarchal cross between them. Pl. 8, fig. 13  
*BMC Vandals etc.*, 207-209, 4-11

This body of material, incomplete though it is, shows the need for caution in reaching conclusions. On the basis of comparison with the excavations, the Piræus Hoard looked as though it were not typical of Athens, but the second hoard confirms it as thoroughly as one could ask. It was much larger and Manuel was represented by Type 13 in considerable quantity which the Piræus Hoard did not include, but otherwise the issues which we have are identical. Moreover, the fabric is similar in the two collections. The flans are rough and irregular and sometimes cracked by the process of striking. The legends are seldom visible, and the whole level of workmanship is uniformly low. The identity of fabric between the

issues of Theodore and his predecessors is food for thought. By hypothesis his mint should be Nicæa alone. Is it possible that he actually controlled other mints as well?

The most interesting feature of the large Athens Hoard is the number of little pieces of Manuel, Type 13, Pl. 8, figs. 7, 8. A similar piece is published by Hugh Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 279, as a "half nomisma." It is true that not only the flan but the die as well is very much smaller than normal, the latter being 13–16 mm. instead of 20 mm. and over. The difference is so noticeable that they may have been intended as fractions though, in our state of entire ignorance as to the value of these coins, we can hardly do more than admit the possibility. Such little bronzes would be generally overlooked by collectors and it is not surprising that Goodacre's specimen seems to have been the first one described, but there is reason to think that search might reveal more than would be suspected. At any rate I acquired two in Athens in 1926 which therefore had no connection with this hoard. We have first-hand evidence that they do occur in Athens; whether they come from other parts of the empire remains to be seen.

Very different in appearance from the foregoing are the contents of a hoard of uncertain size parts of which were in the hands of dealers in Istanbul in 1933. The specimens known to me are probably only a part, but are likely to be fairly representative. They are as follows:

MANUEL...I 1143–1180

- 1–3 No inscription. Christ bearded seated on throne without back. To l. and r.  $\overline{\text{IC}}$   $\overline{\text{XC}}$ .

Rev. To l.  $\text{I}\overline{\text{H}}\Lambda$ , above,  $\overline{\text{M}}\text{--}\overline{\text{P}}$ , to r.  $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\text{V}}$  and  $\Delta\text{ECII}$   
On l. Manuel, holding in r. short labarum, in l. globus cr. On r. Virgin crowning him.

*BMC* 575, Type 11, 40–46

- 4–8 No inscription. The Virgin seated on throne without back. To l. and r.  $\overline{\text{M}}\text{--}\overline{\text{P}}$   $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\text{V}}$

Rev.  $\text{MAN}\ \delta\ \text{H}\Lambda$  to l.,  $\Delta\text{ECIIOTHC}$  to r. Manuel hold-

ing in r. long labarum, in l. globus cr. Pl. 9, figs. 1,2  
*BMC* 576f. Type 13, 56f.

ANDRONICUS I 1183–1185

9–13 The Virgin standing. To l. and r.  $\overline{M-P}$   $\overline{\Theta V}$

Rev.  $\text{AN}\Delta\text{PONIKOC}$  to l.,  $\Delta\text{E}\text{C}\Pi\text{O}\text{THC}$  to r. On l. Andronicus holding in r. short labarum, in l. globus cr.  
 On r. Christ crowning him. Pl. 9, figs. 3,4  
*BMC* 584f., Type 3

ISAAC II 1185–1195

14–17 The Virgin seated on throne with back. To l. and  
 r.  $\overline{M-P}$   $\overline{\Theta V}$

Rev.  $\text{ICA}\text{AKIOC}$  to l.,  $\Delta\text{E}\text{C}\Pi\text{O}\text{THC}$  to r. in columns  
 varying divisions. Isaac holding in r. cross, in l. anex-  
 ikakia. Pl. 9, figs. 5–7

*BMC* 592f., Type 4, 19–29

ALEXIUS III 1195–1203

18–21  $\text{KERO}$  to l.  $\text{H}\overline{\Theta\text{E}}$  to r. Bust of youthful Christ. To  
 l. and r.  $\overline{\text{IC}}$   $\overline{\text{XC}}$

Rev.  $\text{A}\overline{\Lambda\text{E}\text{Z}}\text{I}\overline{\text{W}}$  (1 specimen) to l.,  $\text{TW}$  [ or  $\text{WK}$  [ to r.  
 On l. Alexius holding in r. short labarum, on r. St.  
 Constantine, nimbate, holding in l. short labarum;  
 they hold globus cr. between them. Pl. 9, figs. 8,9,11

*BMC* 602f., Type 4

It is impossible to tell whether the traces of letters on  
 the right of the reverse are part of “Constantine” (Variety 1)  
 or of “Comnenus” (Variety 2).

22–23 No inscription. Similar type.

Rev.  $\text{A}\overline{\Lambda\text{E}\text{Z}}\text{I}\overline{\text{OC}}$  (1 specimen). Similar type. Pl. 9,  
 figs. 10,12

The most evident novelty here is the neatness of the flans.  
 Even when they are of irregular shape (e.g. Pl. 9, fig. 7) the  
 rims are smooth and there are no cracks from striking. They  
 were evidently manufactured with greater skill and care; some



of them at least were silvered. Comparison of the plates will show a difference that is more striking still with the coins themselves in hand. It is hard to believe that they are products of the same mint.

Theodore is not included in the hoard from Istanbul; otherwise the period covered is the same. But there are differences. Whereas the specimens of Manuel, Type 13 in the Athens Hoard, both large and small, show the emperor holding the *anexikakia* (like *BMC* 577, 58 except that the reverse inscription is there in columns instead of around the coin), those in the Istanbul Hoard all hold the *globus cr.* (like *BMC* 577, 56f.). Moreover, Andronicus is well represented, who was not found in the hoards from Greece nor in the Corinth and Agora excavations (though his bronze of flat fabric occurs in both places).

It would be rash to base any conclusions on evidence so slight, but I believe enough has been produced to encourage the hope that further investigation may lead to a sorting out of this material, hitherto uncritically combined.



# GREEK *and* BYZANTINE STUDIES

Volume 1

July 1958

Number 1

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